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walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *facfae*) was worn by chiefs during times of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman (30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

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[1812-1845]

rified, and said, "Takai knows about the intended assassination." They tried to pacify Takai and took refuge with the priest and those whom he favored.

But Takai was satisfied and he said: "Tupoutoa, we did not come to Vavau to seek wealth, but as your warriors, and here are you preparing to assassinate us. I will sail for Otea, and if you have a man let him come and we will fight." And they loaded and sailed for Otea and waited there. And Vavau and Tupoutoa were more afraid than ever at what Takai had said. And they decided to try again for reconciliation with Takai.

They talked and talked and decided that Vuki should ask permission to sail with him to Haapai and Tonga, because they were afraid lest Takai should go to Haapai and destroy everything and kill the people. So Vuki went to Otea. And Takai granted Vuki's request and after about five days they left. Vuki went with them to Haapai. Takai did nothing there because of his love for Vuki. They stayed a very short time at Haapai, then left for Tonga. Two or three years after the war at Feletoa, Takai died, [presumably about 1815 or 1816], and his younger brother [Fae] ruled in his place at Pea.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU TUPOUTOA AND HIS SON TAUFAAHAU, 1812-1845[1]

I will not relate in this narrative the wars that were fought in former times, because that was the way of this foolish land, as though they ate the war as food. But we will talk about the war that was fought by the heathen. The war that Tupoutoa, the lord or father of Taufaahau, fought was waged during the time of a great epidemic called *ngongoa* (pain in the head). That sickness was brought by a vessel from Fiji. The vessel's name was Uluvalu. The sickness raged badly in the three groups, Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. It is said that they were not able to carry the dead away and bury them. It was at this time that the war came to the remnant of people that escaped.

The army faced from Hihifo towards the middle district of Tongatabu and it is said that the army was instructed by the chief Vaea of Houma to have the heads of their warriors bound with coconut fiber rope and fastened with a wedge, so that their heads should not be smashed with the club. The armies met at a fortress called Teekiu. Then a very strong army of the famous warrior Takai of Pea, came up behind them and the army of the Tui Kanokupolu was surrounded. Suddenly a great applause was heard and the king's warriors disputed and turned around. The people said that they had not applauded but that it was the gods that had applauded. Anyway, that was the way that the king's warriors knew that they were surrounded. Tupoutoa commanded that the bands of warriors should turn back to back so that the front lines should face the fortress and the back lines face the enemy at the rear. As they did so the armies clashed. They fought towards the fort, but the army at the back was pressing strongly on them, even though the warriors were not afraid, because they had confidence in Vunivalu's command, which was good. If they had been few in number and afraid, or if the king had not been there to lead, it could not have been done. This was the king of the family of Lolopaongo [Vahai] and Haa Vakatolo. The army of Takai was badly hit by the band of warriors at the back. The army facing the fort also did good work. It is said that Takai was badly wounded in this battle. He would have been killed had it not been for his brave warriors. After the battle Tupoutoa asked for a reconciliation, and they had peace. Each chief went with his own people and dwelt in his own fort, and Tonga was left to the rule of Tupoutoa.

There were wars that were fought at Vavau and which originated perhaps by the uprising of Vavau. After a time Tupoutoa became angry, collected the warriors of Tonga and went and fought Vavau and conquered it. He removed the chiefs and took

[1] Upon the request of J. Jiosaia Hau, the scribe of Wellington Tupou-Malohi Ngu (King George II's mother's brother, who would have been king had he lived), this narrative has been dictated by Peter Vi (3).

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their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood avoid passing the mound in the dark.

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interesting etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed *tevolo* as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as a synonym, as was also *puloa*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods, spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or "different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*, based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in the creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology.

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral" (26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered himself buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs (p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Tongan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

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Tapueluelu knew but little. He said that the people of the lineage Haa Ngata Tupu worshipped Fakailoatonga. He said that commoners of the lineage, as well as a great chief like Ulukalala, paid their addresses to this deity. The chief Luani worshipped Tui Haa Fakafanua and the chief Tui Lakepa presumably worshipped Taliai Tupou.

Alomafao was a Samoan god whose favorite diet consisted of the inhabitants of Tonga. In a great battle with the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua this god was killed and in turn was eaten by the chief and his followers. The oven where he was cooked may still be seen near Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau.

Deities of Niuatoputapu

The most famous deity in Niuatoputapu is Seketoa (26, p. 83), a god who manifests himself in the form of a fish, and according to many accounts is still seen to-day. It is said that Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu can call Seketoa when at sea (16, p. 56). Not only do natives report the appearance of the fish who is supposed to embody the god, but many white people have seen the creature. The two following accounts were given by Catholic priests. The first was written in September, 1917, by Father J. B. Mace, S. M.

> At the time of my last visit to Niua Toputapu, in June last, it was my good fortune, an exceedingly rare one, to get acquainted with a Tongan divinity, a fish called Seketoa. Here is its origin.
>
> Seketoa was a chief of Niua Toputapu, who was to become Maatu, that is king. On that account one of the influential families, Haaila, had conceived a mortal hatred of him, and resolved that he should not be king. Now it happened that a member of that family, Tupa by name, went out to gather shellfish, which he allowed to rot. He did that because the younger brother of Seketoa suffered from elephantiasis and another contagious skin disease.
>
> One evening he rubbed his legs with the decayed shellfish and at night went on to the hut where Seketoa slept. Seketoa awoke and thought it was his brother who had entered. So he said, "Why have you come to me? Do you not know that your disease is contagious? And would you communicate it to me?" But the other, who was armed with an iron-wood lance, made no answer, but pierced Seketoa through and fled. Seketoa rose, but was unable to extract the wood which had broken close to the wound. He therefore went to the neighboring hut where the women were and asked them to bring out a light. He was then able to draw out the end of the lance.
>
> Then, having called his brother to him, the very one who was infected with the contagious disease, he said to him: "My will is that you become king of this island; as for me, I shall go to the sea to succor my brothers in distress." And at his bidding he was wrapped over in coconut leaves and cast into the sea.
>
> The brother of Seketoa became Maatu, that is king of Niua. He communicated his disease to his subjects. And since that time a large proportion of the people are afflicted with elephantiasis and other skin diseases.
>
> After being cast into the sea, Seketoa transformed himself into a fish whose color and dimensions it is impossible to determine. His peculiarity lies precisely in this, that he assumes an infinite variety of sizes and colors, sometimes suddenly. The mark by which he is recognized is the scar he bears in his side. Sometimes, though seldom,

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Seketoa, who according to all versions belongs to the royal family of Niua, may well be a mere "invention" of one of the kings of Niua, framed for the purpose of deceiving his subjects and of forestalling any future revolt on their part against his family. The fear of displeasing Seketoa, the sea-god and ancestor of Maatu may have secured the latter's authority and prevented the natives tired of his domination from quitting the island in frail canoes in search of new lands.

Those who may feel satisfied with this explanation might confirm it by saying that elephantiasis and diseases of the skin prove that the punishment occasioned by the murder of Seketoa is always upon the population. That such diseases exist and are the plague of the country I know from experience. I remember a kava in which I took part in Niua, while I was there some years ago on a protracted visit. We sat nine in all. With the exception of the two girls that were preparing the drink, we were all afflicted with elephantiasis. I think, however, that the marshes of the island were rather a more efficient cause of it than Seketoa.

However that may be, and although I may be called a simpleton for it, I will add that those conjectures concerning Seketoa deserve no credit, though I am disposed to believe that in his manifestations there is something mysterious and disquieting. Such as have dwelt a certain number of years in our islands know how difficult it is to dislodge the devil from his haunts. Now, at the close of the last century, he was absolute master of Niua Toputapu. If he was forced to yield ground, he did so reluctantly; and at all events was careful to leave deceitful snares behind him. And what can his apparent help prove in the case I have related of the *lali* of our Catholics? Absolutely nothing, if not that all means are good enough for him, so long as he can induce souls into error and ravish from God some of the honor and confidence which are His due.

Once when Father Thomas, S. M., was near Niuatoputapu, he saw Seketoa about his boat for more than two hours. He describes him as a large fish with changing colors. On another occasion Seketoa saved one of the members of the mission from drowning. Father Thomas, together with some natives, was proceeding on a raft which began to sink. When hope was lost, Seketoa appeared beneath the raft and buoyed it up until they reached shore safely.

The chief Maatu spoke of two rocks between Niuatoputapu and Samoa, called Fatukau and Fatukalapu, which were deified. They were the home of the god Fatuulu:

Fatuulu, in human form, used to come to Tafahi Island and give commands. His voice was heard to Niuatoputapu Island. A man who used to be his mouthpiece was named Toumaama, meaning "man near god (*tou*) spreader (of god's words)." He was the priest in the time of Ngongo (p. 285). There is a place on Tafahi to be seen now where Fatuulu stood. They never ate fish in Niuatoputapu until the god gave permission. If anyone ate before the god lifted the tapu that person died immediately on the first mouthful. This applied to all fish. Toumaama notified the people for the god. When the god came, Toumaama would tremble like a leaf, and would neither eat nor drink. The god came and went as he pleased. The tapu was put on or lifted as the god liked. The presence of the god is still evidenced by the fact that certain small fish (*kalooma*) immediately leave if proper form is not observed in catching them.

When the god appeared in the priest, he uttered commands as to killing of pigs. Thunder and lightning accompanied the god as he walked over the ocean. The priest then became possessed, for the god came and entered into the priest. The face of the priest was all illuminated, his eyes staring. The people would hide when the god

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A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster.

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned.

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.)

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.)

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow.

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity.

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words.

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man.

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following:

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death."

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breaker. An example of such a tapu is the placing of a shark, or other fish, emblem upon a tree in a plantation, with the penalty that the tapu breaker will be devoured by a shark or other savage fish, the representative of a god such as Taufaitahi. I noted these tapu signs, as well as those used by medical practitioners in both Eua and Nomuka islands.

The tapus placed by medical practitioners consist of leaf or coconut fiber (*kaka*) bundles containing pulverized leaves, which are attached to trees or hung on sticks or fences. (I saw one on a barbed wire fence.) To defy this tapu is to become afflicted with boils or some other ailment. The tapu tree is called *taungatapu* (tapu roost), and this practice by which thieves are said to be accursed is called *tuki*. The following note by Mr. W. H. Murley refers to this practice of *tuki*:

> All Tongans are more or less doctors (of a sort), but every family has a specific for some particular disease—there is no general doctor amongst them. For instance, one family will have the gift of curing wounds or stopping bleeding merely by touch. Others again are specialists in strains and so on. But nearly every disease that they cannot describe as either a break, strain, wound, or cramps comes under the general heading of *hangatamaki*. The nearest translations are "boil and ulcer," but the term is applied to both internal and external complaints. For example, rheumatism and ordinary boils on the skin are both classed as *hangatamaki*. Each particular kind has its separate doctor and although another person might use the same specifics the effect will not be produced. All this preamble is necessary to explain the tapu. If a farmer is tired of having the coconuts stolen off his plantation and is desirous of having them tapu, he will go to a man who has the reputation of curing a certain *hangatamaki*, say styes on the eyes, and beg him to go along to his plantation (*api*) and tapu the coconuts. With this end in view the doctor will make up a few packages containing odds and ends and hang them in conspicuous positions on various coconut trees. From that time on the plantation is tapu and should anyone, even the owner, take coconuts away, or even touch one he will be afflicted with that particular *hangatamaki* and will have to go to the one who put on the tapu in order to get cured. When the sufferer is cured he will bring along a substantial present to the doctor in payment for services. The tapu is only taken off at the wish of the owner, who, accompanied by the one who put it on, goes and takes down the packages from the various trees.

The term *sausau* was given by one informant as another word that applies both to the concrete object attached to the tree or other property and to the curse or malediction accompanying it and falling upon the tapu breaker, who becomes subject to the curse of the one who put up the tapu badge. By another informant *sausau* was listed as one of several tapus and "sickness." The others are *tapuofe* (to bend under a load), *mahangalei* (twins, one of each sex), *kahipapalangi* (*kahi*, goiter; *papalangi*, European), *hulupa*, and *kahitoto*.

According to Methodist informants, a Free Church minister in Faleloa, Foa Island, Haapai, at the time of my visit was engaged in the lucrative side line of tapuing coconut trees against rats, banana patches against horses, and yam plantations against pigs. White calico consecrated by contact with the Bible was the tapu emblem employed. The reputation for efficacy

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727 the casks in the hold; iron being a most valuable commodity to them. During these operations the ground tier of oil, the hoops being knocked off the casks, burst out, and suffocated eight of the natives. In consequence of this great discharge of oil, the water in the hold was covered with it, to the depth of two feet. Two men, who had struggled out of this body of water and oil, strongly expressed their amazement (as they afterwards explained themselves to Mr. Mariner, when he understood their language) at the difficulty they experienced in rising through the oil: they could swim in the water below easily enough, but as soon as they emerged from the water into the stratum of oil above, the less specific gravity of the latter rendered their ascent difficult. They comprehended the reason, however, very well, as soon as he had learned the language sufficiently to explain it to them. Three other men were at the same time severely wounded, by some butts bursting out on them while they were in the act of knocking off the hoops.

727 Finow, observing one of the natives busily employed in cutting out the iron fid from the main top-gallant-mast, and as he was a low fellow, whom he did not choose should take such a liberty, he was resolved to put a stop to his work; so speaking to a Sandwich islander, who

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177 " tion of which he had escaped." (He had ac-
754 tually escaped from Botany Bay.) " The people
797 " then began to treat Morgan with every species
829 " of insult, so that his life was very uncom-
" fortable, and often in great danger. Morgan
" in his turn told the chiefs who *they* were; viz.
" that they were men sent out by the king of
" England to bring a pestilence upon the people
" of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut
" themselves up in this house, to perform witch-
" craft, and make incantations, which was the
" cause of the pestilence that then raged:"
[164] (there was an epidemic disease at the time,
[791] which was very fatal among the chiefs, two or
three dying every day) " and that all their
" books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs
" began to take Morgan's statement into serious
" consideration; there certainly was a great
" mortality among them: the white men often
" assembled, and sang very loud; besides which,
" they would not let the Tonga people be pre-
" sent; and to prevent them even from peeping
" through the crevices of the reed fencing of
" the house, they stopt them up with all kinds
" of filth, knowing that the cleanliness of the
" Tonga people would not then allow them even
" to approach. And the chiefs said to them-
" selves, if these people are doing no harm, why
" do not they allow us to be present? we do

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plan was marked out somewhat different from the former, and larger, as being judged more suitable to their views; a vast number of hands were employed, and in two days the building was finished: a few alterations and additions were afterwards made as occasion and convenience required. During the time this was about, several of the men got dangerously wounded by falling into the *lovosás* and *sokies* *, of which there were several on the land side of the *colo*. They were also much annoyed by the smell of the dead bodies that lay every where about, but which they did not take the trouble to bury, as they were enemies, and none of them their relations †. The canoes were now hauled up on the beach, and a strong fencing of stakes driven round them. The four guns were drawn into the fortress, and one placed at each door.

A few days afterwards a small party who went up into the country according to their daily custom, for the purpose of gathering

* Lovosás are pit-falls, dug five feet deep and four broad; several stakes of bamboo are driven into the bottom and sharpened. Sokies are smaller holes, with one stake in, and large enough to admit a man's leg. These *lovosas* and *sokies* are covered over with slender sticks concealed from sight by plantain leaves and earth.

† The bodies that were found within the confines of the fortress they were of course obliged to remove, and these were thrown for the most part into the sea, which occasioned a greater number of sharks to frequent the place for a time.

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669 712 The next morning, after the men had refreshed themselves, armed parties were sent out to cut reeds, for the purpose of building a fortress at Nëáfoo: Finow and his principal chiefs remained to lay out the plan, whilst others were employed in digging a ditch about fourteen feet wide and ten feet deep. The spot on which this fortress was planned out was so situated, that one side was close upon the sea-shore, on a steep rocky bank, and therefore required no further defence, for the enemy had no large canoes, having broken up all they had to make small ones, and with these it would be imprudent to venture as far as Neafoo, lest their retreat should be cut off by Finow's larger and swifter canoes. 669 726 In the course of the day the fencing and ditch were tolerably well completed, so that the following night the greater 164 part of the army slept on shore; but they were 165 not without alarm, for about midnight, a small party of the enemy having come down to reconnoitre, looked through the openings of some part of the fencing that was not quite finished, and seeing several of the men sitting round a

[705 262] and turbot, and found the assertion perfectly correct: all the preparation necessary, is to take off the skin, and wash the fish with a little salt water; it will then taste as relishing as the oyster, and very similar to it. If we eat the oyster raw, why not other fish?

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fire conversing together, they threw several spears at them, which wounded many, and struck all with a panic: the whole garrison was instantly in a state of confusion; and a great number so far lost their presence of mind as to endeavour to make their escape on board the canoes; in this attempt, forgetting that it was low water, they leapt from off the banks, and fell upon the shelf of rocks below, in consequence of which several of them had broken arms and legs, and sundry contusions, which, together with the fright, producing universal spasm (tetanus*) in some of them, caused their death a day or two afterwards. In about a quarter of an hour the alarm perfectly subsided, and they passed the rest of the night quietly.

During the following day the fencing was completed, and a second ditch was planned round the former; this, however, was to be without any fencing, that the guns might be brought to bear more readily upon the enemy, in case they should make a descent upon Nëá-foo. This ditch was to be eighteen feet wide, and about ten deep. In three days it was dug, and the fortress completed. In the mean time the canoes were hauled up within the fencing, but no active operations were effected on either

* Their mode of treating this disease, and their success in sometimes curing it, will be related under its proper head.

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whether their insides were sound and entire*, and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which about forty men partook. This was the second instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner witnessed, but the natives of these islands are not to be called cannibals on this account: so far from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow began to make enquiries respecting the alleged treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable

* It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime. The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

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that this attempt might fail, or that the Vavaoo people, in consequence, might again rise up against him, had previously sent a canoe to the Hapai islands, with orders to Toobó Tóa that he and his chiefs should hold themselves in readiness to repair to his assistance at a moment's notice. There proved, however, to be no necessity for their intervention, the conspiracy succeeding in a degree equal to his expectation. Some difficulty, however, was found in securing Cacahoo, a very great and brave warrior and mataboole, amazingly courageous and strong, although he was highly diseased with scrofula; and, like most great warriors, was always (according to the Fiji practice) upon his guard against treachery. They had therefore recourse to stratagem on this occasion: Mr. Mariner's services were required as the means, for he was present at the consultation of Finow and his chiefs upon the subject, and he consented, being informed that the king's intentions were merely to confine him as a prisoner till some parts of his conduct were examined into; and had it not been for the

entered into any plan of conspiracy, but most persons suspected that they had held discourses upon the subject; and it was generally acknowledged that if a revolt were to take place, these would be the men likely to head it. Such is the summary way of managing matters in this state of society.

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cocoa-nut trees in abundance; the soil is also highly favourable for the cultivation of yams, which grow there larger than in most other places. The water which terminates it at one end is noted for the vast abundance of a peculiar fish which resort to the shores of Vavaoo about the month of July. This fish they call *Ooloo Caoo*, and is about the size of the common sprat, and of much the same shape and hue. The common people consider it a great delicacy, but there is considerable danger of being poisoned by eating them promiscuously, for here and there is found one which, on eating, produces the most alarming and sometimes the most fatal effects*; and as there is no mark by which these poisonous ones may be known, it is always dangerous to eat of them, unless they be procured in the rocky bay of this plantation, where, they say, they never found any poisonous, and therefore partake of them without any reserve: the chiefs however seldom touch them, unless perhaps there is a scarcity of other fish. The time when they are best and in the greatest plenty is in the latter end of the

* The symptoms produced are headach, nausea, vomiting, and diarrhœa, with violent pains in the bowels, to which death generally succeeds in the course of four or five hours. The only remedy they use (which very seldom succeeds) is to cause the patient to drink abundantly of water, or, what is considered still better, the milk of young cocoa-nuts.

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527 man may take an active part, if he feels himself
526 at all so disposed. In these encounters they
164 frequently get their arms broken; but this
752 gives no one any concern, scarcely even the
527 party who suffers, who immediately gets it set
526 by any one in the company, (and they are all tolerably expert at this from frequent practice,) and bound up with bandages of *gnatoo*, using splints made from the cocoa-nut tree.

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and cava were shared out, they began the entertainments of wrestling and boxing as usual at festivals. After the men had shown their strength and dexterity in these feats by single engagements, the king gave orders that all the women who resided north of the *mooa* should arrange themselves on one side, ready to combat all the women who resided south of the *mooa*, who were to arrange themselves on the other. It was not a very rare occurrence for women to fight in pairs on occasions of rejoicing; but a general engagement like this, with about fifteen hundred women on each side, was a thing altogether new, and beyond all precedent, and quite unexpected at a funeral ceremony. [164] The women, however, readily engaged, and kept up the contest, with obstinate bravery, for about an hour, without a foot of ground being lost or gained on either side; nor would the battle have subsided then, if Finow, seeing the persevering courage of these heroines, had not ordered them to desist, the battle having cost them several sprained ancles and broken arms. They fought with a great deal of steadiness, and gave fair hits, without pulling one another's hair. The men now divided themselves in like manner into two parties, and began a general engagement, which was persisted in a considerable time with much

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634 628 had so reasonably said upon the subject; his pride, however (as it was believed) was much hurt at feeling the necessity of coinciding in the wishes of so young and inexperienced a chief. Whilst Toobo Toa was speaking, the tears ran down his cheeks, influenced probably by the feelings of his heart, for he had a great respect for the late How, a real friendship for him, and felt a sincere regret for his loss. The same evening he took his leave of Finow, by performing the ceremony of *moe-moe**, and repaired

634 628 576 751 [261] * A kind of salute paid to the greatest chief present, and consists in bowing the head, (whilst sitting cross-legged before him) so that the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, (who sits in like manner) and then touching the sole of the same foot, (which may be either the right or the left) first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. The ceremony is also performed by persons who may have accidentally touched any part of a superior chief's person, or any thing whatever belonging to him; and unless this ceremony is performed after such contact, they cannot eat without danger (as they suppose) of swelling up and dying. [164] [753] They are very subject to indurations of the liver, and certain forms of scrofula hereafter to be spoken of, and which, as they conceive, frequently happens from a neglect of this ceremony, after touching any thing belonging to a superior chief. They most frequently, however, perform it, without knowing themselves to have occasion for it, merely as a matter of caution. And if a man has eaten any thing without performing this ceremony when he had occasion for it, the chief applies the sole of his foot also to the man's belly, as a greater security against such swellings. Moe-moe means literally to touch or press. (See note, p. 141.)

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752 they say are liable to produce *gita* (tetanus), unless the wound be of such a nature, and in such a situation, that it may with safety be first laid completely open, then there is no danger. Mr. Mariner never witnessed a case of tetanus produced by these means; but he met with many who said they had seen it in persons who had got nearly well of their wounds, but happening to wash themselves too soon, spasm supervened, and death was the consequence. They notice that wounds in the extremities, particularly in the feet and hands, are liable to produce tetanus: also, in persons already wounded, sudden alarms, or even any sudden noise that calls the attention abruptly, is liable to produce this complaint. They never allow females to be near men thus wounded, lest the mere stimulus of venereal desire should induce this dangerous complaint. As to cutting the hair and nails, they positively assert that the mere sensation of these simple and common operations has not unfrequently been productive of these dreadful consequences. The man whose case we have just mentioned was eight months without being washed, shaved, or having his hair or nails cut.

Gita is a disease very common among the Tonga people; but still more common among the natives of the Fiji islands, who, from their

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warlike habits, are more frequently in the way of it: they adopt, however, a remedy which the Tonga people have borrowed of them, and consists in the operation of *tocolósi*, or passing a reed first wetted with saliva into the urethra, so as to occasion a considerable irritation, and discharge of blood; and if the general spasm is very violent, they make a seton of this passage, by passing down a double thread, looped over the end of the reed, and when it is felt in the perinæum they cut down upon it, seize hold of the thread, and withdraw the reed, so that the two ends of the thread hang from the orifice of the urethra, and the doubled part from the artificial opening in the perinæum; the thread is occasionally drawn backwards and forwards, which excites very great pain, and abundant discharge of blood. The latter operation Mr. Mariner has seen performed several times; but only twice for tetanus, arising in both instances from wounds in the foot: in these cases the spasms, but particularly the convulsive paroxysms, were exceedingly violent, extending to the whole body, neck, face, trunk, and extremities: but in neither case was the jaw permanently locked, though on every accession it was violently closed for a few seconds. A native of the Fiji islands performed one operation, and Hala A'pi A'pi the other: they both hap-

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752 pened at Vavaoo, at different times. In either
164 case the disease came on suddenly, three or
[759 four days after the wound was received, which
562] was from an arrow not barbed. The moment
752 the symptoms became evident *tocolòsi* was performed. In the short space of two hours one of them was greatly relieved, and the other in about six or eight hours. The following day the one on whom Hala A'pi A'pi operated was quite well, and afterwards had no other attack; consequently the thread was withdrawn: but the other on the second day was not quite free from spasmodic symptoms, and a paroxysm coming on, the seton was moved frequently, which in two or three hours gave him great relief, and he afterwards had no other attack: it was thought prudent, however, to keep in the seton till the fourth or fifth day, when it was withdrawn. The effect of this operation was a considerable pain and tumefaction of the penis, but which gradually subsided (in about five or six days): the artificial openings in both cases healed spontaneously, without any difficulty.

752 These are the only two cases of tetanus in
123 which this operation was performed that Mr. Mariner can speak of with certainty, having been an eye-witness of them. He heard of several others at the Hapai islands, at the island of Tonga, &c. some of which were equally for-

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tunate. From what he has heard and seen of the success of this operation at the Tonga islands, he is disposed to believe that about three or four in ten recover by the aid of it. The Fiji islanders, however, speak of the happy effects of this singular mode of cure with much more confidence than the natives of Tonga; but as they claim the merit of the discovery, they are probably rather too profuse in praise of it.

Tetanus is not the only disease for the cure of which the operation of *tocolósi* is performed: it is adopted also in cases of wounds in the abdomen, upon the mistaken notion that any extravasated blood in the cavity of the abdomen is capable of passing off by the discharge from the urethra. Mr. Mariner saw the operation performed once in this case, and, as the man was considered in a very bad state, and notwithstanding got well, the cure was attributed to this remedy. It is also performed for relief in cases of general languor and inactivity of the system; but, in such instances, they only endeavour to produce irritation by passing the reed without any thread or artificial opening: the present king had it thus performed on him for this purpose; and two days afterwards he said he felt himself quite light, and full of spirits.

The natives of these islands are very subject

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752 to enlarged testicles, and for this they some-
[164] times perform the operation of *boca* (castration).
[123] Mr. Mariner's limited observation on this subject does not authorize him to speak with any degree of certainty in regard to the precise nature of these tumefactions. Their mode of performing this operation is summary enough: a bandage being tied with some degree of firmness round the upper part of the scrotum, so as to steady the diseased mass, at the same time that the scrotum is closely expanded over it, an incision is made with bamboo, just large enough to allow the testicle to pass, which being separated from its cellular connexions, the cord is divided, and thus ends the operation: they neither tie the cord, nor take any pains to stop the bleeding; but, if the testicle be not very large, and the epidydimis not apparently diseased, they perform the operation by dissecting it from that body with the same instrument. The external wound is kept from closing by a pledget of the banána leaf, which is renewed every day till the discharge has ceased; the scrotum, in the mean time, is sup-
[123] ported by a bandage. A profuse hæmorrhage is mostly the consequence of this operation: it was performed seven times within the sphere of Mr. Mariner's knowledge, during his stay; to three of which he was a witness: not one

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of the seven died. One of these cases was that of a man who performed the operation on himself: his left testicle was greatly enlarged, being about five or six inches in diameter, and gave him, at times, severe lancinating pains: two or three times he was about to have the operation performed by a native of Fiji, but his courage failed him when he came to the trial. One day when Mr. Mariner was with him, he suddenly determined to perform the operation on himself; and it was not much sooner said than done: he tied on the bandage, opened the scrotum with a very steady hand, in a fit of desperation divided the cord and cellular substance together, and fell senseless on the ground: the hæmorrhage was very profuse. Mr. Mariner called in some persons to his assistance, and he was carried into a house, but did not become sensible for nearly an hour, and was in a very weak state from loss of blood: this affair confined him to the house for two or three months. There was one rare instance of a man, both of whose testes were affected with some species of sarcoma, to a degree almost beyond credit: when he stood up, his feet were necessarily separated to the distance of three quarters of a yard, and the loaded scrotum, or rather the morbid mass, reached to within six inches of the ground:

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164 there was no appearance of a penis, the urine
165 being discharged from a small orifice about the middle of the tumor, that is to say, about a foot and a half below the os pubis. The man's general health was not bad; and he could even walk by the help of a stick, without having any sling or support for his burthen: it was specifically lighter than fresh water, and considerably lighter than salt water, so as to produce much inconvenience to him when he bathed. He died at the island of Foa, about two or three months before Mr. Mariner left Vavaoo.

752 As to fractures, and dislocations of the ex-
[826] tremities, it may be said that there is scarcely any native but what understands how to manage at least those that are most likely to happen; for they are very well acquainted with the general forms of the bones, and articulations of the extremities. They use splints made of a certain part of the cocoa-nut tree: for broken
164 arms they use slings of gnatoo. In fractures
[752] of the cranium they allow nature to take her
[158] course without interfering, and it is truly astonishing what injuries of this kind they will bear without fatal consequences: there was one man whose skull had been so beaten in, in two or three places, by the blows of a club, that his head had an odd mis-shapen appearance, and yet this man had very good health, except

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when he happened to take cava, which produced a temporary insanity. Fractures of the clavicle and ribs Mr. Mariner never saw there.

The most common surgical operation among them is what they call *tafa*, which is topical blood-letting, and is performed by making, with a shell, incisions in the skin to the extent of about half an inch in various parts of the body, particularly in the lumbar region and extremities, for the relief of pains, lassitude, &c.; also for inflamed tumours they never fail to promote a flow of blood from the part; by the same means they open abscesses, and press out the purulent matter: in cases of hard indolent tumours, they either apply ignited *tapa*, or hot bread-fruit repeatedly, so as to blister the part; and ultimately to produce a purulent surface. Ill-conditioned ulcers, particularly in those persons whose constitutions incline to such things, are scarified by shells; those that seem disposed to heal are allowed to take their course without any application.

In cases of sprains, the affected part is rubbed with a mixture of oil and water, the friction being always continued in one direction, that is to say, from the smaller towards the larger branches of the vessels. Friction, with the dry hand, is also often used in similar and other cases, for the purpose of relieving pain.

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751 In respect to inflammations of the eyes, which sometimes rise to a very great height, attended frequently with a considerable purulent discharge; they frequently have recourse to scarification by the application of a particular kind of grass, the minute spicula with which it is replete dividing the inflamed vessels as it is moved upon the tunica adnata. To assist in reducing ophthalmic inflammations, they also drop into the eye an acid vegetable juice, and sometimes another of a bitter quality; the first is called *vi*, the latter *bawlo*. The species of ophthalmia to which they are subject, though sometimes lingering, is stated scarcely ever to have produced serious consequences, and is not considered contagious. Mr. Mariner neither saw nor heard of but one man who had lost his sight by disease.

752 In cases of gunshot wounds, their main object is to lay the wound open, if it can be done with safety in respect of the larger blood-vessels and tendons, not only for the extraction of the ball, if it should still remain, but for the purpose of converting a fistulous into an open wound, that it may thereby heal sooner and better: if they have to cut down near larger vessels, they use bamboo in preference to the shell; the same near tendons, that there may be less chance of injuring them. They always

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make incisions nearly in the course of the muscles, or, at least, parallel with the limb.

The amputation of a limb is an operation very seldom performed; nevertheless it has been done in at least twelve individuals. Mr. Mariner seeing one day a man without an arm, curiosity led him to enquire how it happened, and found that he had been one of the twelve principal cooks of Toogoo Ahoo, the tyrant of Tonga, and had submitted to the amputation of his left arm, under the circumstances related Vol. I. p. 70. The mode in which this operation was performed was similar to that of *tootoonima*, described Vol. II. p. 210, only that a large heavy axe was used for the purpose. The bleeding was not so profuse as might be imagined, owing, no doubt, to the bluntness of the instrument and violence of the blow. This stump appeared to Mr. Mariner to be a very good one; the arm was taken off about two inches above the elbow. Ten were stated to have done very well; of the remaining two, one died of excessive hæmorrhage, and the other of mortification. There was also a man living at the island of Vavaoo who had lost a leg in consequence of the bite of a shark, which is not a very uncommon accident; but there was something unusual in this man's particular case: his leg was not bitten off, but the flesh was almost

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752 completely torn away from about five inches
[164] below the knee down to the foot, leaving the tibia and fibula greatly exposed, and the foot much mangled: he was one of those who chose to perform his own operations; with persevering industry, therefore, he sawed nearly through the two bones with a shell, renewing his tedious and painful task every day till he had nearly accomplished it, and then completed the separation by a sudden blow with a stone! The stump never healed. Mr. Mariner had this account from the man himself and many others.

304 *Tēfe*, or the operation of circumcision, is
752 thus performed: a narrow slip of wood, of a convenient size, being wrapped round with *gnatoo*, is introduced under the præputium, along the back of which a longitudinal incision is then made to the extent of about half an inch, either with bamboo or shell (the latter is preferred); this incision is carried through the outer fold, and the beginning of the inner fold, the remainder of the latter being afterwards torn open with the fingers: the end of the penis is then wrapped up in the leaf of a tree called *gnatái*, and is secured with a bandage: the boy is not allowed to bathe for three days:
[171] the leaf is renewed once or twice a day. At the Fiji islands this operation is performed by

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It is a curious circumstance, that at the Fiji islands, the men, on the contrary, are not tattowed, but the women are. The operation is managed by their own sex, though by no means to that extent to which it is performed on the Tonga men, contenting themselves chiefly with having it done on the nates in form of a large circular patch, though sometimes in that of a crescent; and most of them have it also done on the labia pudendi, consisting of one line of dots on each side, just within the verge of the external labia.

We cannot with certainty say that the glandular ulcerations above alluded to are always produced by the tattów, though in all likelihood, when it has recently been performed, it is the exciting cause; but the people are very subject to scrofulous indurations, glandular enlargements, and ulcers: they call the disease *cahi;* the parts affected are the groins, axillæ, and neck; though many other parts of the body are also liable to ulcers, which they call *pálla*. These diseases sometimes run on to such an extent, and assume such appearances, that we believe some travellers have mistaken them for lues venerea. It is certain that some indi-

Prince. The beauty and neatness of the execution far exceeded my expectations. It may best be compared to a pair of blue satin small-clothes very tastefully configured.

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viduals affected with *pálla* have been obliged to submit to the loss of a nose, the cartilaginous and softer parts of that organ becoming completely destroyed: it must be also mentioned *at the same time, that the natives are subject* to gonorrhœal discharges, attended with ardor urinæ. All these circumstances appear very equivocal: but Mr. Mariner has every reason to believe that the venereal disease did not exist under any form, either at the Hapai islands or Vavaoo, during the time that he was there; although, to his certain knowledge, three of the survivors of the Port au Prince's crew had gonorrhœas at the time the ship was taken, one of whom had brought it from England, and the other two had contracted it at the Sandwich islands. Several others of the ship's company had also venereal affections: but they fell in the general massacre on board. In the first place we must observe, in respect to those labouring under the diseases called *cahi* and *pálla*, that the complaints are either not venereal, or that the venereal disease subsides in them, and the constitution cures itself spontaneously. 2dly, That the organs of generation are never affected previously to the more [753] general disease coming on. 3dly, That these diseases are not known to be, or believed to be contracted by sexual intercourse. 4thly, That

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though these diseases in some constitutions produce fatal consequences, yet very frequently the appetite and strength, and fulness of flesh, remain much the same as if no disease existed, though this happens in *pálla* more than in *cahi*. In respect of the gonorrhœas to which they are subject, they are for the most part very mild in their symptoms, and get well in a few days; besides which, they are not capable of being communicated between the sexes, or at least this is not known or believed to be the case. With regard to the three men of the Port au Prince's crew, they got well without exactly knowing when or how: for the consternation occasioned by the capture of the ship and the destruction of their countrymen, and the alarm and state of anxiety in which they were for at least two or three days, had produced such a change in the constitution, or at least in the disease, that it had actually got well before they were aware of it. Mr. Mariner inquired among some of the oldest men if they had ever seen or heard of such a disease as syphilis or venereal gonorrhœa (describing the general character of it, and how it was communicated), and learnt that a woman, a native of one of the Hapai islands, having had connexion with one of the men belonging to a French ship, became on fire, (as they expressed it), and died after-

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164 wards in a very bad state: and this was all that he learned respecting what might reasonably be supposed to be true syphilis. *Pálla* frequently gets well spontaneously: but the remedies commonly used are scarification of the ulcered surface, powder of tumeric sprinkled over it, and sometimes a bitter vegetable juice dropped on it.

They have among them another kind of ulcerous disease which they call *tona*, very distinct from the two last described, children being for the most part subject to it; and it is one of those diseases which only occur once during a person's life. The patient is first seized with general languor and debility, attended with loss of appetite: in a few days an eruption appears in different parts of the body, but particularly in the corners of the mouth, axillæ, groins, parts of generation, and anus; the pustules at first are exceedingly small, but at length increase to about half an inch in diameter; fungous excrescences grow out of them, exhibiting a granulated surface, and discharging a viscous fluid, which concretes round the edges. These pustules come also upon the soles of the feet, and increase to a considerable size, giving very great pain: Mr. Mariner is not acquainted with the state of the pulse, &c. The disease generally lasts several

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months, and sometimes a couple of years. 164
From the symptoms thus far described, there is [157]
not much doubt about its resemblance to what
is called the *yaws;* the remedies they use for
it are a certain bitter juice dropped into the
ulcers, and rubbing off the fungous excrescences
with cocoa-nut husk dipped in sea-water.
They are subject also to a pustulous eruption, [153]
chiefly confined to the feet, but which some-
times affects the hands: it usually appears be-
tween the toes, and has in its external character
a strong resemblance to psora, and itches very
much: it appears in the form of small pustules
with whitish heads, which, when rubbed off,
generally discharge a watery fluid: it is sup-
posed to arise from walking in clayey places
without the opportunity of washing the feet
afterwards: it is not thought to be contagious:
it usually lasts about four or five days. The
name they give it is *gnówooa.* They use no [157]
remedy.

They are also subject to a disease called
fooa: but if we describe the symptoms of ele-
phantiasis, we shall have related with tolerable
accuracy the history of this disorder. Labillar-
diere notices the disease, and calls it elephan-
tiasis. They use no remedy for it. [157]

The disease called *momóco,* a sort of Maras- [165]
mus, usually lasts from four to seven months:

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in the latter stages it somewhat resembles phthisis. It comes on with occasional chilliness, loss of appetite, lowness of spirits, wasting of the flesh: shortly succeed swellings in the groin and axillæ; general debility, paleness of the lips. As the disease advances the patient stoops very much; experiences pain in the chest, and across the shoulders: sometimes, but not often, a cough, and expectoration now supervene, the debility and emaciation become extreme, and death relieves the patient from his sufferings: these are all the symptoms which Mr. Mariner can speak of with certainty. They use no physical remedies.

Féke-feke appears to be a sort of mild irregular intermittent: the paroxysm usually lasts from two to eight hours, and consists of a cold and a hot stage; but is seldom succeeded by perspiration. The returns of the paroxysm are very uncertain; sometimes two, at other times three, four, five or more days intervene. The patient is sometimes perfectly well for a month, and then his disorder returns.

In regard to diseases properly belonging to females, Mr. Mariner has very little to communicate. The women are in general tolerably healthy: during the catamenia, they anoint themselves all over with a mixture of oil and turmeric, to avoid catching cold; and they do

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12. "My" (possibly "our") is not the composer personally, but the Hihifo party.

13. The details of the *lafo* metaphor are susceptible of more than one explanation. It may be that the troubles and difficulties of the time are not swept off the board by a throw which attempted to effect such a clearance. An excellent informant says that the picture is of two opposing pieces, both in good positions; the piece which is actually in the scoring position is struck off by its owner, in an attempt to strike off the opponent's piece. This might refer to a favorable position in the war being lost by some untoward incident. Such an incident, for example, as the death in battle of Mulikihaamea, shortly after the murder of Tukuaho.

14. The counsel is not to talk of peace, but to go right on through difficulty; the "will to victory."

15. "Disunion among chiefs who should be allies makes sailing difficult for the Hihifo bark of state." In the main the war was fought by Haapai and Vavau, led by Ulukalala Finau, against Tongatabu, especially Hihifo. Even before the assassination of Tukuaho, the two hulls had been loosened by the dissension between Tupou Moheofo, the chieftainess who was Tui Kanokupolu for a short time and her brother, Tukuaho, who drove her from her position. Tupou Moheofo appealed to Finau for assistance. Finau himself belonged to a younger branch of the Haa Ngata, against the chiefs of which he fought. Tupou Toa, who afterwards became Tui Kanokupolu, also acted with Finau.

16. The Tui Haakili is unidentified but is apparently some chief who might have been expected to support Hihifo, but did not. He rejoiced with Finau in the defeat of Hihifo, which had become desolate. Apart from the defeat of Hihifo at the Battle of Toafa, which was held to have been avenged by Vahai in the Battle of Chasing Fowls, the western district of Tongatabu was desolated for years by the raiding excursions of Finau.

17. There was an epidemic about this time that carried off a large number of people.

18. Ula was chief fisherman and sailor (*toutai*) of the Tui Kanokupolu.

19. This is suggested as a sarcastic reference to those who stayed at home, and did not join in the war, which would seem to be the case with Mataele, but I think the general sense is a recalling of the entourage of the Tui Kanokupolu, especially with the nuance of an implicit contrast of their inherent glory and the straits into which they fell. Longoiaipangi is the name taken by Vahai as self-inflicted reproach after the Battle of Toafa.

20. Kepa is another name of Falekaono, who kept faithfully by Tukuaho on the night of his assassination. Here, Heilalafuitahi (name of a plant) is a nickname of Tukuaho.

21. Sinae, the Tui Tonga chiefs; Atelevai, said to be the chiefs of Haa Havea.

22. The *matapule* of the Tui Tonga were called the Falefa. Falefa is sometimes explained as meaning Four Houses, and four names are mentioned as belonging to it; but it is quite possible that the meaning is the House of Hala as a complimentary naming by a tree valued for its perfume or as indicating far-spreading.

23. Evidently Hihifo.

24. The reference is to Haapai and Vavau, who come over the sea.

25. The *pehipaki* is a little marine creature, popularly called the bluebottle.

26. Totomai is explained as the name of a man or as meaning "creeping back defeated."

27. "The pig that drinks water" is Finau and his army. Finau used to retire to Haapai and Vavau after his battles in Tongatabu. He is called pig perhaps in reference to his having installed a pig as king of Tongatabu. "Drinks water," that is "comes and goes on the sea."

28. Perhaps the reference is to Haapai. It would not be true of Haapai, but would be merely a rather childish grimace at Finau. Perhaps the place meant is Hihifo, in sorrowful allusion to the depredations of war.

29. The word *aheia* is said to indicate a change of topic.

30. Red (*melo*) is rather, orange colored. It is not clear what is indicated. Probably the bard recalls to mind the ruddy or orange tinge of the sails in a certain light.

31. The exact meaning of this passage is not clear, but there seems to be a reference to a success of Hihifo, when the tide of war turned in his favor. Pelehake

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gath-

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 892

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [285] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 806 821

14

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

342 [178] few more of them retain Tongan shape but have frame walls and iron roofs. The old time Tongan house has the advantage of being cool and is fairly easily built. Frame houses are costly to build and hot to live in, but they have the advantage of being generally free from insects and will stand against all but the severest winds. Most of the villagers, if they were [177] free to choose, would build for themselves a European style [185] frame house. It is the ambition of most, indeed, to possess just such a house before they die.

343 514 Practically all the dwelling-houses have an adjacent cook-house. A privy is also found on most household lots. These privies are of the type introduced by Dr. S. M. Lambert as a method of combating hookworm and other tropical 312 diseases. For the whole village there are fourteen concrete cisterns collecting rainwater from the iron roofs of adjacent dwelling-houses to supply the village with water for drinking and domestic purposes. By amicable arrangement householders who do not have a cistern on their lot use the water from the cisterns of close relatives or friends. The cisterns are supposed to be kept covered as a health precaution. Most [164] of them are open. As a consequence, typhoid is by no means an unknown disease.

361 342 There is one dwelling-house only outside the village limits. This is situated on the nearby plantation of its owner, a plantation which borders on the boundary of the village proper. This location of the dwelling-house may [178] well represent a survival of old-time practice when the population lived in the plantations rather than grouped together in a village unit. This grouping of the Tongan 361 commoners in villages has apparently taken place since 565 1773 and is probably due to a breakdown of central 178 authority, consequent wars and fighting, together with the 177 subsequent influence of the Christian missions and the traders.

361 491 The village is intersected by two main "roads" that lead to the beach, the plantations, to near-by villages. By "road" is meant a twenty-foot wide strip of land that is called a road, but is grass-grown for the most part with a narrow track down the middle wide enough for foot or horse travel. Round the village, these "roads" are thick in mud and hard to pass during the rainy season, even on

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

This pattern of division is not a hard and fast one in all its aspects. For some of the activities the division is fixed. Thus one would certainly not expect any Pangai woman to function as an undertaker or as a church-pastor. It would also be rare for a woman to work on the building of a house frame or assist in the making of a canoe. Similarly no man would attempt to plait mats or make bark cloth. He would make *kava* only if it was impossible to find an available girl or woman when he and his friends were craving for *kava* to drink. The pattern is most flexible in regard to agriculture and cooking. Women are primarily the cooks in Pangai. But men spending all day in their plantations will often pause to make an oven and bake food for themselves, particularly if other men are present and helping them. On feast-occasions also, men and women work together with food preparation. Similarly, cultivation is mainly left to the men. Women help whenever their help is needed. Sometimes they may even do all the cultivation for the household should it be necessary. Thus Fakataha's husband was suffering from a long bout of filarial fever which kept him in his house. His children were all young. Fakataha spent day after day in the plantation doing all the rough work of clearing land, planting, and hoeing. She was sometimes assisted by her two eldest sons. Villagers admired the way she worked although they thought her unfortunate. On the other hand, Biukala, somewhat sophisticated with European ideals, was proud of the fact that his wife occupied herself entirely with domestic work and rarely left the house-lot. He felt that many village women showed interest in men's activities merely as an excuse for gadding about the bush or the village when they would be much better and more safely employed with domestic tasks.

Daily Routine

For fourteen days during the month of January, nineteen Pangai men and two Pangai women kept a daily record of their chief activities. From this consecutive record it is possible to get a rough idea of how the villager fills his day with work and play (or better, with work and non-working activities—the concept of play is not one that the villager could easily master).

even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead. They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have been a course of massage. We have no record of any method of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided, too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical. They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather increases their prestige in the community by giving them something of endless interest to talk about with their friends. Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 going to the wharf. Two men sprang ashore and ran
645 towards us. Their news justified their haste. Tubou was dying, and they were sent to summon the lords of Tonga-
643 tabu to be with him at the last. Divested of the exag-
[164] geration natural to all bearers of evil tidings, the story ran that four days previously the king had bathed as usual at daybreak and had caught a chill. For two days his illness caused no alarm, but on the third he grew worse and sent for his chiefs. When old Tungi heard this he collapsed and said, "If Tubou summoned his chiefs, it is the end; by this time the heavens have fallen!" (*kuo hala ae langi.*)

For me, no less than the country, no more disastrous event could have happened than the king's death. The whole castle of cards that I had been so painfully rearing during the last eight months would topple headlong to the ground. The balance in the Treasury, nursed with unflinching watchfulness and parsimony, would be swallowed up at one gulp in the expenses of the funeral; the public servants, trained to attend their offices by a system of judicious nagging, would, in the idleness inseparable from great public ceremonies, return to their former habits; public tranquillity, so hardly won, would give
[646] place to disturbance, and perhaps civil war. Even if,
645 by a miracle, all these disasters could be averted, and
671 Parliament be brought together, the Ministry could not hope to pass the new laws without the king's sanction. If the king was dead there was nothing left for me but to stay and try to keep the peace. It was idle to hope that the work on which I had built so much could survive. It was one of those crises in which one is paralysed by the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

646 574 loud applause. In ten minutes the members of both Houses will be pig-smeared to the elbows. Let them be happy in their own way to-day, for the morrow will bring debates, shoes, and the knife and fork.

646 At ten o'clock next morning H.M.S. Cordelia steamed through the hazy reef as the great wooden drum announced that the business of the country was to begin. The House had been cleared for action. On the daïs the throne had been replaced by the Speaker's chair; and a long table, at which sat four clerks of the Parliament, filled the place of the visitors' benches. Two sentries of the Guards and four policemen drawn up at the door saluted as we went in. The members of both Houses were in their places—Nobles on the right and Commons on the left of the chair. The [645] [634] Cabinet had a bench to themselves among the Nobles, and below them sat the governors of districts—sixty-eight members in all, counting myself. So long as I continued to hold the portfolio of *Fakahinohino* I had a seat *ex officio* as a member of the Upper House.

For twelve minutes not a word is spoken. We are [164] waiting for the Speaker. When the delay has become unbearable a messenger is sent to him; for though Tungi had been in sight when we came in, he suffers so much from asthma that he has to rest to recover breath at every few yards of the road. Some moments later there is a movement behind the daïs-screen. Claud, Sergeant-at-Arms, clatters in and cries, "*Koe Sea!*" (The Chair!) We all rise. Tungi climbs the daïs panting, but with the deliberate air of a man who knows his business; for he held his office through two at least of Mr Baker's Parliaments, and is not in the least collar-shy like the rest of us. He

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 trade was at a standstill. The people went to their plantations only to dig up and carry away food for the great funeral
643 764 feasts. Their only labour was the erection of the great tomb in the Malaekula (Red square). Contrary to general expectation,
643 the king's great-grandson, George Taufaahau, succeeded him
[645] without disturbance. This was in a great measure due to the loyalty and good sense of Tukuaho, who might easily, had he pleased, have divided the country into factions. The young king of twenty ill repaid this devotion. For the first few months, it is true, he followed his Premier's advice. But no sooner did he begin to feel secure in his new position than he
[764] began to listen to advisers of another kind. The balance in the treasury had melted away in the expenses of the funeral. Under the most favourable circumstances, the country could
731 only recover under careful management. But before the people
[164] could return to work, an epidemic of measles, then prevalent in New Zealand, broke out in Nukualofa. We all know the story of the measles in Fiji,—how, in 1876, it swept away 40,000 out of the population of 150,000. Measles, when it attacks the Polynesians, is no longer the infantine malady we know of. It
[165] becomes a devastating plague. The Tongans, with the experience of Fiji in their memories, took, it is true, some precautions against the after-effects of the disease; but, nevertheless, one-twentieth of the population was carried off, and the remainder
669 was so demoralised that it was threatened with famine. The measles gave the enemies of the Government the opportunity they wanted. The infection must have been brought by a steamer, and the Premier had been responsible for the granting of pratique. It mattered not that the king had himself sanctioned the hauling down of the yellow flag. An excuse was wanted for dismissing him, and the king availed himself of it.
669 There was a *coup-d'état*. One morning the European officers
645 of Customs found sentries at their office doors. Tukuaho was
563 summarily dismissed without any assigned reason, Sateki ap-
439 pointed in his place, and an unemployed schoolmaster and a
651

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

form the *moëmoë*[1] by embracing her feet when they left her.

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure built of the high estimation in which women were held upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga—lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits; and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from

[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the *moëmoë* must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moëmoë* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised. A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence. The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u. [4] Boscawen Island. [5] Keppel's Island.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

164 Chiefly de-
structive among these are dysentery and whooping-cough, both of them unknown to the Tongans before the advent of European ships. But apart from bacilli of actual foreign diseases, there is now no doubt that the different races of men are themselves uncongenial, and that their first meeting generates a mysterious poison fatal to the weaker race. In the Pacific, Tahiti, Niue (Savage Island), and Penrhyn Island in particular were swept by a destructive epidemic immediately after the visit of the first European ship, though the visitors were not themselves suffering from any such ailment at the time. Such disasters have led the natives of some of the islands to adopt a murderous system of quarantine, and the loss of many lives has been the result. Tonga, however, seems to have been spared this penalty that attaches to the "blessings of civilisation," unless the tradition of an epidemic following Tasman's visit has been lost. The first sickness preserved by tradition is the *ngangan* (lit. headache), a new disease that ravaged the group about the year 1776, but which was not associated in the natives' minds with the visit of [165] Captain Cook three years before. Of this many hundreds are said to have perished.

161 I do not believe that the population of Tonga ever
[361] greatly exceeded 20,000. It is true that the natives have traditions of a time when the king's orders could be shouted from house to house as the people lay on their mats; but I think that this refers to the time when each family lived in its own plantation instead of in villages,—a state of things that was observed by Tasman in 1643. Cook estimated the people present at the entertainment given to him at Maofanga in June 1777 at 10,000, the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the population has been either stationary or decreasing—slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses, and content themselves with calling in one native quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In ancient times the women were required to do no work beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating. The men planted the food, carried in the wood and water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In other respects they have greater liberty than under the heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries. This is all changed. Under the grim social code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

Church with most of her relations; and poor blind Tungi, her kinsman, had so far conquered his aversion to Mr. Baker as to permit services to be held in his premises. Mr. Baker had been careful not to define his exact position to the Tongans. All that a stole and surplus could do towards making him an ordained clergyman had been done. He did not bother the Tongans with any nonsense about Church government; the one thing he did understand was making a collection, and he held his first while I was at Nukualofa. Something under three hundred adherents subscribed nearly £200. I asked Ofa who kept the money. Had they churchwardens?

"Churchwardens," she said, "what are they?"

I explained. No, they had no churchwardens.

"Then who keeps the money?"

"Misa Beika."

It was melancholy to see how cruelly Fortune had used Tungi, whom I had left the most influential chief in Tonga. While his son Tukuaho was still alive his sight had begun to fail, and he had made the voyage to Samoa to consult a German oculist, who pronounced his case to be beyond hope. Hardly had night closed in upon him when Tukuaho, his only son and the most popular chief in Tonga, died suddenly of heart

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

644 757 759 trums of their own on the principle of "more medicine, quicker cure." It is only by simulated outbursts of indignation that Dr. Maclennan can get his orders obeyed.

752 In surgery alone do the Tongans frankly admit their helplessness. An old shed in our host's compound had been hastily converted into an operating-room, in order that the presence of a naval surgeon to assist in operations might be [164] turned to account. For several days in succession the two doctors were operating on bad cases of elephantiasis, the relations of the patients camping outside to act as hospital nurses. Even under these unfavourable conditions the patients all made rapid recovery, but there was one painful case in which the patient deliberately preferred death. A young man, while pig-shooting in the bush, had put a charge of shot into his own leg, shattering the ankle. There was nothing for him but amputation, but when his relations heard that he must lose his foot, they refused to allow the operation. They would try herbs, they said, and for a day or two they brought reports that he was better. Gangrene at last set in, and while there was yet time I went to reason with the lad's mother. Secretly, I fear, the reflection that if he lived the lad would

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

as twenty-six per thousand, which is very unlikely, seeing that families of more than three living children are rare. Nevertheless, the Tongans are all agreed that, in spite of a devastating epidemic of measles in 1893, there has been an increase of population of over 200 in the nine years; the returns say 203. I think myself that the population is stationary, or slightly decreasing, but that there has been no very marked decline, as in Hawaii, New Zealand, and Fiji since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The people, moreover, are so fearful of foreign epidemics and so sensitive about quarantine that there is not much likelihood of a sudden decline for many years to come.

It was very pleasant to renew acquaintance with the European colony at the Consulate. Many of them are prosperous merchants, and their appearance of rude health justified the saying that the climate of Tonga is the healthiest in the Pacific. The little gathering did not pass off without incident. While I was talking to two new arrivals an elderly and rather feeble little gentleman in black entered the room, and my two visitors hastily seized their hats and took their leave before I had had time to exchange a word with them. The features of my

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele.

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god.

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat.

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 0U9 Tonga 0U9

shipping difficulties. These setbacks are probably only temporary, and Tonga can look forward to developing a modest, but useful, trade in both peanuts and tapa after the War.

Apart from them the only likely addition to the export trade is fruit. Before the Great War Tonga had a profitable fruit trade with New Zealand, but in 1941, an exceptionally good year, it amounted to less than £2,000 worth of pineapples and melons. Tonga produces excellent qualities of these fruits; the only problems are transport and markets. New Zealand could well afford to extend a little generosity to Tonga in regard to markets, especially as New Zealand exports about five times as much to Tonga as it imports.

During the present century Tonga has built up considerable overseas investments out of its trade surpluses. Since Tonga has no foreign debts its investments place it in the select coterie of creditor nations, with foreign assets equivalent to four years' normal revenue. This exceptionally liquid position is necessary to a large extent since the country's money income depends so largely upon the vagaries of the copra market. There is, nevertheless, a definite anomaly in this small and economically backward nation lending nearly all its savings to wealthy countries like Australia and New Zealand. It is impossible, in view of the Director of Agriculture's very specific proposals for economic development, to believe that there are no avenues for sound investments in Tonga, especially as some of the developments suggested would lessen the need for large overseas funds by reducing the country's dependence on imports.

Health

The standard of health is rightly considered a major test in judging the efficiency of a native administration. That the Tongans are basically healthy can be seen from their fine muscular physiques, and confirmed by their moderate death rate and their satisfactory rate of natural increase. During the five years 1934-38 their birth rate averaged 3.82 per cent, their death rate 1.41 per cent, and their rate of natural increase 2.41 per cent. These figures compare very favourably with those for Fiji, American Samoa, and for the New Zealand Maori. There are no figures available for expectation of life but the Tongans are decidedly not short-lived. There are plenty of old people, including a few centenarians, while senility is listed as causing about one-eighth of the total deaths. Tuberculosis, which accounts for about a fifth, is the

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

next most important cause of death, followed by pneumonia and typhoid. Venereal disease is far from being a health problem. The most disturbing feature of Tonga's health is the high infant mortality rate of 8.7 per cent, even although it is a bit lower than the Maori rate. Unhygienic confinements, and a sudden transition from breast feeding to an insufficiently modified variant of the adult diet seem to be the main causes of infant deaths.

The traditional Tongan diet had developed a strong people, healthy enough in their own environment, but lacking resistance to European diseases, and more particularly to tuberculosis and epidemic diseases like measles and influenza. The current diet does not depart much from former standards, but where it does the change is not for the better. Tongans are too fond of white flour and tinned meat, which only accentuate the deficiencies of their diet in regard to protective food elements. A lack of iron lowers resistance to disease as well as predisposing the people to anaemia and yaws. Vitamins are deficient, especially A and C, so that scurvy, hookworm and pyorrhœa are far too prevalent.

Milk and fresh meat would do much to remedy these deficiencies but we have seen that livestock are both scarce and poor. Here is another and a powerful argument for the development of animal husbandry, but more than this would be needed to remedy the situation. Tongans have a marked prejudice against drinking milk, and while they have no such prejudice against meat, they invariably overcook it to make it tender enough to eat without forks and knives. There would have to be intensive education in dietetics and cooking, as well as a flourishing livestock industry, before the Tongans made proper use of meat and milk.

Housing

Housing, unfortunately, is by no means satisfactory, despite the simplicity and cheapness of building a home in Tonga. About one-third of the houses are neat wooden cottages with glass windows and iron roofs, built at a cost of about £80 in the palmy days of high copra prices. The depressed condition of the copra market has not only brought this type of building to a standstill but has prevented most Tongans from keeping their cottages in proper repair. Even so they are markedly superior, at least from the standpoint of health, to the usual *fale*. This type of dwelling is cheap—at the most £10 to

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

501 deck, and is, in fact, a pivot on which the foot of the mast works, so as to allow it to move in a slanting direction, toward either end of the canoe, when "going about," or according to the setting of the sail. The sail is composed of numerous pieces of light matting, and is in shape, what sailors would call, a shoulder-of-mutton sail. When hoisted, the wide part is uppermost; and when tacking, the sail and the two heavy yards to which it is attached, are lifted, by sheer manual strength, from one end of the canoe to the other. The top of the mast is cut in the form of a crescent, for the purpose of suspending the various ropes required in hoisting the sail. A rude kind of low railing round the edges of the platform, and on the top of the deck-house, is the only protection to the crew and passengers against the chance of being washed overboard, as the canoes have nothing answering to the bulwarks of European ships, and there is no cabin accommodation whatsoever under the deck. Accidents of this
●164 sort are very rare; but one remarkable instance
501 may be here given, illustrative of the danger, and of the wonderful expertness and presence of mind which the islanders show when placed in jeopardy. The occurrence took place only a few years since, and was narrated to the writer, by those concerned, as it is here given.

A canoe was overtaken by a sudden squall, and had to be put before the wind. Whilst scudding along at a prodigious rate, one of the crew was washed from the deck. Such was the fury of the wind and the speed of their progress, the crew could do nothing for their hapless companion, and he was left far behind, apparently to perish in the dark and angry waters. Happily, the canoe

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

was driven straight toward an island, upon which a landing was safely effected in the course of the night. On the following morning, according to custom, the crew assembled to partake of a funeral feast in memory of their lost comrade; but while the repast was still proceeding, to their great amazement the man himself suddenly appeared among them. Incredible as it may seem, he had actually kept himself afloat during the whole of the night, and being carried by the sea and wind in the track of the canoe, he had, as by a miracle, reached the same shore, in time to do what few beside himself have ever done—partake of his own burial feast!

On making the land, as well as in starting upon a voyage, the crew enliven the occasion by chanting, in full chorus, one or other of their pleasing, though monotonous, *Tauaalo*, or sea-songs. When within a short distance of the shore the anchor is dropped, or, failing the possession of an anchor, one of the crew dives overboard with a long pole in his hand, the end of which he either fixes into a crevice of the coral rock, or he bores it into the loose sand; and to it the canoe is moored. A busy scene then takes place. The first operation is that of landing the huge sail. For this purpose a number of the crew jump overboard; and the end of the sail having been laid upon the shoulders of the first man, each in succession takes a part in bearing it aloft above the surface of the water; and thus it is carried safely on shore. If no small canoe be at hand to convey the passengers to the land, each makes for the shore the best way that he can. The common people wade or swim, while the chiefs are carried either upon a broad plank or on the

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

132 European constitution. In the height of the hot season, the humidity also becomes proportionably increased. One seems to live in a vapour bath all the day long. It must, however, be stated, as a set-off against this, that the resident, in any of the Tonga islands, has no need to dread the miasma of marshes, [164] or deadly swamps. Violent or fatal fevers are scarcely known. We are convinced that with ordinary care, and by having better habitations, the Missionaries, and other foreigners, would avoid a great many of the evils which at present result from the excessive humidity.

342 354 The houses, of the class possessed at present, are not sufficiently impervious to the outward atmosphere; while the system of ventilation is not such as to contribute to the comfort and health of the inmates. It will be enough to say, in proof of this, that there are no means of ventilation in any part of the high thatch roof of a Tonguese house. Hence, to secure the ventilation absolutely necessary for ordinary health, the walls themselves have to be made of open reeding or wattle-work. All the air, therefore, that is admitted, enters and departs below the eaves, that is to say, through the walls up to a height of seven or eight feet. Through these walls the damp, and cold rains and dews, easily strike into the interior, rusting everything in the shape of cutlery, and necessitating also a regular exposure of wearing apparel to the sun, to free it from the damp and mould, consequent upon even a few days' neglect.

342 797 Such houses cannot be healthy; and although the Missionaries have been content to occupy them, on the score of economy, it is an economy liable to very grave objection and doubt. Nothing that

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

McArthur has recalled in some detail evidence of loss of life during this period.[13]

Such contemporary observations as were made were not always supported by other evidence, but it can be assumed that the ravages of war and disease affected the various islands unevenly and at different times, epidemics probably having fewer widespread effects than in the larger islands of the Pacific; there was a high mortality rate, especially of infants; and, with few in the reproductive age groups, a sex imbalance, and later marriages (induced partly because of the "grim social code of the missionaries"), the population declined considerably.

Distribution of Population by Island Groups (percentages)

	Pre-contact[1]	1840[2]	1891[3]	1921[4]	1939[5]	1956[6]	1966[7]
Tongatapu	43.9	43.2	—	—	—	55.0	61.9
'Eua	2.0	0.8	—	—	—	3.4	4.4
Tongatapu and 'Eua	45.9	44.0	36.6	42.6	46.2	58.4	66.3
Ha'apai	21.9	21.6	28.2	25.2	21.9	17.5	13.7
Vava'u	21.9	21.6	26.5	24.4	24.0	22.0	17.5
Other[8]	10.4	12.4	8.7	7.8	7.9	2.2	2.6
Total population	29,700	18,500	19,968	24,935	34,130	56,838	77,429

[1] Estimated by Maude (1965): 27.
[2] Wilkes, cited by Maude: ibid.
[3] Missionary account. Census 1956: 17.
[4] Wood (1952) Appendix 6.
[5] Census 1956: 41.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Census 1966: 36.
[8] Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. Niuafo'ou had no population in 1956.

3. *1852–* : "A phase of adjustment and recovery" dating from 1852 when the civil war ended, but probably having little effect on growth until the 1890s. From this date the population grew "slowly but irregularly" from some 20,000 in 1891 to about 24,000 in 1918, with occasional epidemics still taking a large toll of life. The increased growth rate in recent years, due largely to improved health measures and the absence of epidemics, has produced a population at least double the most generous estimates given for the pre-contact period. Thus between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1 percent; between 1931 and 1956, 3.1 percent, and between 1956 and 1966, 3.6 percent. This increase, together with the marked movement of population to Tongatapu referred to below, suggests that Tonga has now entered a phase of dynamic growth. Tupouniua's phase of "adjustment and recovery" can be said to have ended in the 1940s.[14]

[13] McArthur (1956): 202-206; and (1967): 68-75.
[14] —— (1967): 96. An epidemic of measles in 1893 is reported to have killed a twentieth of the population, and an influenza epidemic in 1918 a tenth of the population of some islands.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

went ashore again with a party of Marines and such of the Cattle as were weak, I remained there till sunset when every thing be[ing] settled to my satisfaction I returned on board leaving the Command on shore to Mr King. Tapa who was now become our fast friend and seemed to be the only active man about us, had a house brought on Mens shoulders a full quarter of a mile and placed by the one we occupied, in order to be near us as well in the night as day.[1]

SATURDAY 3rd. Began to Water, cut wood, and make hay for the catle. We at first began to cut wood abreast of the Ship it being there in the greatest plenty and the most convenient to get on board, but it proved to be of the Mancheneel kind, yeilding a juice of a Milky colour & of so corrosive a nature that it raised blisters on the Skin and injured the eys of such of the workmen as it happened to fly upon;[2] so that the wooding party were obliged to remove to the Cove where wee took off Water and kept guard, where the natives furnished us with other wood. Mr King and Mr Bailey began to observe equal altitudes of the sun in order to get the rate of the time keepers.[3] In the evening before the natives retired from our post Tapah harangued them for some time, we could only guess at the subject and judged he was telling them how to behave to us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the island to market as a considerable quantity was brought the next day.[4]

The Discoveries Small bower Cable parted, being cut in two by the rocks, this occasioned us to look at ours which were found unhurt.

[1] 'Omai is of great use to us, not only as an interpreter, but in keeping up a good understand[g] between us & the Natives, for they pay him great attention & listen to the stories he tells them about Britannee, which doubtless tends to keep up our consequence, too apt to be lessen'd by the familiarity of our intercourse; & from which we find out that the Venereal disorder has been left among them; so it is, that wherever we go, we spread an incurable distemper which nothing we can do can ever recompence.'—King.

[2] 'As our people were cutting wood they cut some Manganeel trees, the Sap of which flew into some of their Eyes which made them nearly blind for several days, their heads swelling very much but they all happily recovered their sight again as well as before.'—Bayly, 6 May. The machineel is a West Indian tree, with a caustic and poisonous milky sap. Anderson got the name of the Tongan tree as 'faitanoo'—*feta'eau*. It was common to India, China and Malaysia as well as Polynesia, and Linnaeus had already named it *Excoecaria agallocha*—a tree growing up to about 36 feet, with smooth oval leaves, and the white, adhesive, irritating latex that damaged and alarmed the sailors.—'[A B]otanist might discover some differences, but to appearance any[on]e not so well skilled would certainly have no doubt of its being [manch]ineel.'—Bligh AL, I, p. 230.

[3] 'The 2d Went on shore to look for a convenient place to observe in where I met Capt Cook who objected to my going on shore with my Instr on account of the insufficiency of the Guard. 3d Received an invitation from Capt Cook to dine with him, when he proposed my going on Shore with my Astronom[l] Quadt only but not to carry my observatory, or at most to have only one between Mr King & me.—at last we settled it so as not to carry any observy on Shore but to pack up the Quad[t] every evening & deposit them in an Indian house that Capt Cook had hired for his people.'—Bayly T.

[4] 'another Chief of some consequence whose name is Kapee who frequently made long harangues to the People and kept them in good order, he was call'd by our People Lord North.'—Edgar, 2 May.

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122 with beating about amongst the islands and shoals as they were and determined to get to an anchor some where or a nother if possible.
[133] While the boat was absent, we attempted to turn the Ships through the Channel, between the Sandy isle and the reef of Ogodoo, in expectation of finding a moderate dept[h] of Water behind them to anchor in, but meeting with a Tide or Current against us were obliged to desist and anchor in 50 f^m water with the Sandy isle
[648] bearing EBN one mile distant. We lay here till the 4^th during this
649 time we were several times visited by Fattafee the King, Toobow-
[439] eitoa, and people from the neighbouring island[s] came off to trade notwithstanding it blew very fresh most of the time. The Master was sent to sound the Channels between the islands to the Eastward and I landed on Ogodoo to examine the island and take a View of the
134 Shoals or reefs about it. I walked all over it, the north part is low
[133] land, the soil composed of Sand and Mould. The South end is ele-
311 vated and the soil a red sandy clay without a stone, every part is cultivated and there are some pools of dirty Water on the low ground
[312] and all of them more or less brackish.

Wed. 4 On the 4^th at 7 AM we wieghed with a fresh gale at ESE and stood
Thur. 5 away for Anamocka where we anchored the next Morning nearly in
122 the same place where we lay before. I landed soon after and found
439 the Inhabitants very busy in their plantations diging up yams to bring to Market, they were now in the greatest perfection and we
24 procured a good quantity for pieces of iron. Before I returned on
199 board I visited the several places where Mellon seeds & plants had been planted and had the Mortification to find that the most of them were distroyed by a small ant,[1] but [the] Pine-aple plants
Frid. 6 I had planted were in a flourishing state. About noon the next day
164 Feenough arrived from Vaughwaugh he told us that several Canoes
122 laden with hogs &c^a that sailed with him from the island were lost in the late blowing weather and every soul in them perished; but as this melancholy tale seemed not to affect any one of the Indians, I did not beleive it; yet it might be, for it had blown hard for these parts, in so much that the King and others at Ogodoo durst not venture to Sea when we did, but desired I would wait for them at Anamocka which was the reason of my anchoring there the second
Sat. 7 time. The following Morning the King and all those who had been
643 wind bound with him arrived, I was at this time a shore with Fee-
648 nough and left him to visit the other; who I found seting with a few
634 people before him, but as several came to pay their court to him

[136] [1] The ant in Tonga is called *le*; but there are more than one species, so that it is impossible to identify the criminal.

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122 sounding.[1] Insencibly were we drawn upon a large flat on which lay
133 innumerable coral rocks of different depths below the surface of the water. It was not possible to keep the ship clear of them, all our care and attention did not prevent her from striking on one of them, nor did the Discovery who followed us escape any better, fortunately neither of them stuck fast nor received any damage.[2] We could not return without increasing the danger, as we had come in before the wind, nor could we anchor but with the certainty of having our cables instantly cut in two by the rocks. We had no other resourse but to proceed, to which we were incouraged not only by being told, but seeing deep water between us and the shore; but to be better informed the moment we found a spot where we could drop the anchor clear of rocks we came to and sent away the Masters with the boats to sound. Soon after we had anchored which was about noon several of the Inhabitants came off in their canoes to the Ships. These as also our two Pilots assured us we should find deep water farther in and a bottom free from rocks, and so it proved for about 4 PM the boats made the signal for having found good anchorage—upon which we weighed and stood in till dark, then anchored in 9 fathom a fine clear sandy bottom. During the night had some showers of rain, but towards the morning the wind shifted to the South & SE and brought
Tues. 10 on fair weather. At day break weighed and worked in for the shore, meeting with no obstruction but what was vissible and easily avoided.
648 While we were plying up to the harbour the Natives directed us to,
643 the King kept sailing round us in his Canoe, there were at the same time a great many small Canoes about the Ships; two who could not
[164 get out of his way he run quite over with as little concern as if they had been bits of wood. Amongst many others who came on board the Ship was Otaga who was so usefull to me when I was here last voyage,[3] and one Toobough who at the same time was the Friend

[1] That is, they were coming down through the Lahi passage, sown with coral rocks. A channel was swept through it 165 years later, in 1942.

[2] 'We found this a most confounded navigation. The Bottom, which we too clearly saw a continued bed of Coral Rock, very uneven, with here and there a mischievous rascal towering his head above the rest, almost to the waters Edge; most providentially we had exceeding smooth Water, with just such a breeze as we cou'd wish, and of course took every precaution we cou'd suggest, such as Boats a head, a good look out &c; but these lofty Gentry's heads were so small, that 'twas great odds but you miss'd them with the Lead in the Boats, be as cautious as you wou'd. About 10 we gave one of them a rub, but fortunately receiv'd not the least damage.'—Clerke. 'At 10 [AM] the water in places shoal and the passage very doubtfull struck on a patch of Coral Rock, set Top Gallant sails and fore Sail and force'd her over without any damage, Just Ab[t] the same time the Resolution struck but without damage. . . . it was very Lucky it happened to be very near high water At the time the ships struck or in all probility they might have stuck and receiv'd material damage.'—Portlock.

[3] Siale'ataongo, the grandson of a great chief, Mumui, who was to become 12th Tu'i Kanokupolu. Both references to him in II, pp. lxxv and 249, n. 5, are badly confused.

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each to serve a certain number, these generally divide again, so that one seldom sees above two or three eating together. The Women are not excluded from eating with the Men, but there are certain ranks or orders among them that can neither eat nor drink together; it begins with the King but where it ends I cannot say.[1]

Amusements Of their amusements I need add nothing to what has been already said on this su[b]ject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.[2] Polygamy is

Polygamy allowed to the Cheifs, and it is no uncommon thing to meet with some who will tell us they have got eight or ten wives, but the most of them are satisfied with one at least many had no more. Some of us were of opinion, that the most of those which they called their wives were only concubines, and that there was only one that was looked upon as the wife and who always appeared to be the Mistress of the family.[3] As chastity at first sight appeared to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of the conjugal fidelity in the Married Women or kept Mistresses, which you please, but it was the very contrary. I do not know that our whole Stay produced one instance; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarr[i]ed more free of their favours, its true there are no want of those of a different stamp, and perhaps they are more numerous in proportion to the number of people than in many other Countries; but it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class of people, and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us in order to make the most of the present time.

Diseases This commerce has unhappily entailed upon them the Veneral deasease, as we had not been long at Anamocka before some of our people were affected with it, and I had the Mortification to find that all the care I took when I first Visited these islands to prevent this dreadfull desease from being communicated to them, prove enefectual. What is extraordinary the people do not

[1] The general rule was that inferiors could not eat with superiors: the Tu'i Tonga could not eat in the presence of the Tamaha, and so on down the whole scale of precedence. There was also the brother-sister *tapu*, the sister being of higher rank than her brother.

[2] '. . . to their private diversions may be added their household ones, the men have a game calld Kaka-'habo exactly like our Cup & ball. The Children have plays familiar to themselves, as throwing up 5 or 6 balls & catching each successively, this is mostly a Girls diversion, the boys cut a string exactly in the same manner as we do a Garter & take off & on in various shapes & ways from the fingers, they walk on Coco nut shells as we do on stilts by means of a Cord thro: the hole of the Shell with many other plays like our Children.'—King.

[3] This was so, though to equate 'concubine' with 'kept mistress', as Cook does in his next sentence, is not quite happy. The word must be used in the technical polygamous social sense: a Tongan bride might bring her husband a *fokonofo*, a secondary or supplementary wife, selected by herself from her own family, perhaps a younger sister—or perhaps

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seem to regard it. As we saw no signs of its bad effects, probably their way of living greatly abates its virulency. We observed several who had ulcers upon different parts of their bodies, some of which had a very virulent appearence, particularly those in the face which were shoking to look at; on the other hand some seemed to be cured and others in a fair way, but this was not effected without the loss of the nose or best part of it. But this cannot be the effect of the Veneral as they were subject to it before the English vesited them, unless they had the veneral desease before which they say not.[1]

Traffick No Nation in the world understand Traffick or Barter which they call *Fagatou*[2] better than these people, neither are there perhaps any Indians that traffick with more honisty and less distrust, we could always trust them with our good[s] to hand one to another to examine and they put the same confidence in us; if either party repented of the bargen the goods were reexchanged with mutal consent on both sides. At first we imagined their knowlidge of trade might rise from their traffick with the neighbouring islands, or with one another; but we were afterward assured that they had little or no traffick either amongst themselves or with any other islands except Fidgee from which they get red feathers and a few other articles mentioned before. It is at this island those few earthen Vessels we have some times seen among them are made.[3]

Manufactures The principal Manufacture in these islands as well as many other in this sea is their cloth, the making of which is very minutly discribed in Hawksworths Voyages Vol. 2, page 210.[4] But though this Cloth is made of the same Materials as that at Otaheite yet it is of a different nature and the latter part of the process in making is different. After the layers of bark are properly cleaned, they are placed one by the end of another till they are a yard or at the most two yards in length, but seldom bro[a]der than the layer of bark which is about three or four inches. When the fibres are adhered together it is ready for the Mallet with which it is beaten on the smooth side of a piece of wood in the same manner as at Otahiete, till it is as thin as Coarse Gause. Very often they take the layers of

more than one. The *sisi'u*, or concubine, had a regulated position and recognised rank.

[1] Once more, from this description, one suspects yaws. But skin ulcers, extremely unpleasant to look at, might arise from a variety of causes in the islands, even from an untended cut or coral scratch.

[2] *faka'atau*.

[3] Cf. II, p. 265, n. 6. Twentieth-century archaeology, it may be added, is finding traces of the potter in the most unlikely islands.

[4] From Banks's description; see also Banks's *Endeavour Journal*, I, pp. 359–60. Cook's own brief description will be found in I, pp. 132–3. The journal-keepers found it very hard to refrain from describing *tapa*-manufacture; and indeed it is a fascinating thing to watch. The Tongans are still extremely adept.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

water, and we had an oppurtunity time enough to warn our consort of the danger by firing three swivels.

In the fore noon we attempted to work up towards Hafaiva (which is the largest isle hereabouts) between Pootoo poo'tooa & a shoal that lyes NE from Kotoo, but making little progress and the same weather being likely to continue, we came to an anchor at noon in fifty fathom a coarse sandy bottom about a mile WBN from Pootoo poo'tooa, Fotoohàà bearing nearly NNE, Kotoo SWBS, and the shoal to the NE of it SSE and SE. The Discovery also came to soon after a little to the NE of us. Several Canoes came off from Ha'faiva with Cocoa nuts & Plantanes and in the morning we sent the pinnace on shore to Kotoo with our Indian guests, who were so heartily tir'd of their short Voy[age] that they had once prepar'd themselves to swim to it. Their greatest distress was with respect to their food, for they were not fond of Pork dress'd after our manner and liv'd chiefly on Yams. In the evening we caught a large Snapper of twelve or fourteen Lib. and a Grooper of the same size.

MONDAY 2d. The wind SE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in the forenoon, but afterwards clearer. In the forenoon the Captain went on shore to Kotoo, which is scarcely accessible to boats from the coral reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and a half or two mile long and not so broad. The NW end is low like the islands of Hapaee, but it rises suddenly in the middle and terminates in reddish clayey cliffs at the SE end about thirty feet high. The soil thereabouts is of the same sort as in the cliffs but in the other parts it is a loose black mould. It produces the same things as the other islands and is tolerably cultivated but is thinly inhabited. We saw Annamooka from the highest part of it and the Captn thought he perceivd a clear passage about Toong'ooa and the other isles towards that place. Our people were employ'd in cutting some grass for the cattle and we planted some Melon seeds with which the natives seem'd much pleas'd and inclos'd them with branches. On our return to the boat we met with two or three ponds of water but it was very salt, and near them was one of their burying places that was much neater than those which were seen at Hapaee.

Several Canoes came from the different islands to barter their cocoa nuts, plantanes &c and we observ'd that almost all of them as well as the inhabitants of Kotoo were affected with a violent cough and slight sore throat, which also made its appearance on board for two days past, perhaps from the sudden change to and continuance of the bad weather.

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Annamooka bore the island on this side making in two or three low hummocks. Between eight and nine we anchord in the same spot we left on going to Hapaee but the Discovery was still three or four leagues to leeward and did not get up till three in the afternoon.

The Captain went on shore before and after dinner and the natives to about the number of two hundred assembled on the beach & traded with as much eagerness, if not more so, than if we had not been there before. Their stock appear'd to have been recruited much in our short absence but instead of bread fruit, which was the only article we could purchase on our first arrival, nothing was to be seen now but yams & a few plantanes, which shows the quick succession of the seasons or at least the different Vegetables produc'd at the several times of the year. We found the cold mention'd at Kotoo quite universal here & seems a disorder they are not much acquainted with. These people in the absence of Toobou whom we left at Kotoo seem to be under little subordination, for we could not perceive to day that one man assum'd more authority than another. It appears also that a great many of the principle men and women whom we saw here at first had come from the other isles, as few or none were seen now.

FRIDAY 6th. The wind E and ENE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in the forenoon but afterwards clearer and more moderate. Very few Indians came off to the ship but they traded on shore as usual, which brought us a seasonable supply as our Vegetables were almost exhausted (though we had plenty of hogs) on coming in here. In the afternoon a large Canoe came with Feenou, who reported that several Canoes which he was bringing with hogs and other things from Va'vaoo were lost in the late strong winds. We were now too well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story but easily overlook'd it from the service he had been of to us before. The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble. He was however in that case obligd to frame a story, that it should not appear he had broke his promise to Captn Cook and to procure him a civil reception at his return. He seem'd to be sensible of the error he had committed in assuming the character of the first person in the country, as he not only acknowledg'd

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132 FRIDAY 13th. Calm almost the whole day with dull weather and
114 rather warm. Some of our people employ'd in wooding, some about the tent in looking after the cattle and other things, others in cleaning
439 out the watering place at Pang'ia motoo and the sail makers in repairing sails. A considerable number of Canoes came off with Yams, hogs &c and the Gunner was employ'd bartering for these articles on shore, to which the large space before the tent was well adapted.

643 In the afternoon the Captain went to visit Maree'wagee who he
648 was inform'd had come for that purpose, perhaps from the displeasure shown yesterday at our disappointment. We found a person sitting under a large tree near the shore a little to the right of the tent, with a piece of cloth at least forty yards long spread before him, but were informd that another that sat a little way from him to the right on a piece of Mat was Maree'wagee. Omai who interpreted, though very indifferently, inform'd him of the reason of our coming to this island which he seem'd to approve but said very little, another person on his right hand repeating most of the things Omai said. The Captain then made him a present of a hanger, a piece of printed cloth, with some other triffling things, and Captain Clarke gave him a large necklace of beads which they esteem very much, both which he receiv'd with few marks either of displeasure or satisfaction. The other chief who we understand was Too'bou, a man we had heard of at all the other places as a person of very great power, was presented with a piece of Gauze and a few other things which he seem'd to regard but little, after which we entertain'd them for an hour with two french horns and a drum, but they were most pleas'd with the firing off a pistol which Captn Clarke had in his pocket. They presented Captn Cook with the large piece of cloth, and the visit ended with an invitation to both the chiefs to come on board the Ships tomorrow which they readily consented to.

643 Mareewagee is a slender man and from his appearance seems to be considerably above three score. There was no particular mark of respect paid him by any person present, nor had he any external appearance in dress to distinguish him by. The large crowd of people that were about us might indeed be consider'd as a proof of his consequence, if he orderd them to attend, but of that we are uncertain; and yet he is certainly a man very much esteemd as the people all say he is Mo'tooa Tonga, which is to say Father of Tonga or of his
[164] country.[1] Too'bou seems about fifty, rather corpulent and almost

[1] Anderson's interpretation is probably correct: *motua* is a word of wide significance—an 'elder', a parent, especially father.

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blind with a disorder of his Eyes. It is probable he precedes the other in rank as he certainly posses'd what we might call the seat of honour, sitting under the tree and fronting us as we walk'd up, while the other sat aside, and indeed it appeard that he was rather disappointed by our addressing Mareewagee first & paying most attention to him.

SATURDAY 14th. The wind Southerly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. The people on shore employ'd as before & those on board mostly in the hold. The natives brought a good deal of fruit and some hogs off & a brisk trade is carried on at the tent. We had a visit from Poulaho who now lives constantly at the house or Ma'laee by the tent, I believe with an intention to superintend or see that no mischief is done by his people. The Captain made him a present of some things but neither of the other chiefs came off as they had promis'd yesterday. He entertaind our people at night with a dance at the tent, and to the surprize of every body the unwieldy Poulaho endeavour'd to vye with others in that active amusement.

A Canoe went to the Buoy where our boats lay and stole an iron pin belonging to one of them, for which we confin'd one in irons who was found in the Canoe though not the principal, but the iron being return'd in the afternoon he was set at liberty.

SUNDAY 15th. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. In the forenoon some of us walk'd to the westward of the tent and found the country totally uncultivated for near two miles, though quite coverd with trees and bushes in a natural state growing with the greatest vigour. Beyond this is a pretty large plain on which are some Cocoa trees and a few small plantations that appear to have been lately made, and seemingly on ground that has never been broke in before, but it seems to preserve the same appearance still farther on. We found that several of the principal people, as Maree'wagee, Too'bou, Fee'nou & some others had erected temporary huts to live in while they remaind here, near the path which leads through the uncultivated part immediately west of the tent. Near the creek which runs to the eastward of the tent the land is quite flat and partly overflown by the sea every tide. When that retires the surface is seen to be compos'd of coral rock with holes of a yellowish mud scatterd up and down; and towards the edges where it is a little firmer are innumerable little holes, from which issue as many small crabs of two or three different sorts which cover the place as flies on a carcase, but are so nimble that on ones approaching they disappear in an instant and baffle even the natives to catch any of them.

At this place is an artificial work which shows these people have

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of the peoples property. On coming to the point they mention'd some thing of a person who they said had been fir'd at by some of our people, and upon our wishing to see him they carried us to a house where we found a man who had been shot through the shoulder, but not dangerously, as the ball had enterd a little above the inner part of the collar bone and pass'd out obliquely backwards. We were sure from the state of the wound that it was the person who had been fir'd at by the centinel the day the others were punishd, though positive orders had been given that none of them should load their pieces with any thing but small shot. There had been no application made to it and the people about him seem'd to be very little concern'd at the accident, nor indeed the man himself farther than his being oblig'd to sit still from the pain and swelling which was considerable. We gave them some directions how to manage it & they seem'd pleas'd when we told them it would get well in a certain time: but what is singular, on our going away they ask'd us to send him some Yams & other things for food, and in such a manner that we could not help thinking they imagin'd it was our duty to support him till he should get well.[1]

In the evening we cross'd the Bay in a Canoe which Futtafaihe had excercisd his prerogative in procuring by calling to the first that pass'd by, and found fault with the people because they did not seem to come immediately as they were calld to. He had also got a large hog at this place and brought a servant from his house with a bundle of cloth which he wanted us to carry as a present from him, but the Boat being small we objected and he order'd it to be brought over next day.

We got off the remaining horses, Cattle and sheep as preparatory to our leaving the place.

WEDNESDAY 2d. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with dull cloudy weather and some rain in the morning.

[1] Compare King's account on the Tongan point of justice. They went to the man, '& found him in a very grave temper, with his wife & some friends sitting by him . . . nature was doing her part, the seperation had begun, & the Doctor said he did not doubt, but left to itself it would have done well; the parts about were swell'd & inflam'd & the man complaind of not being able to lay himself down; we had about us some linnen & the Doctor cleand the wound & applyd some lint to the place, & made them well understand, how they were to proceed in future, he direct'd them to clap a Poultice of Plantain, but we were a little surpris'd on his wifes not asking as a favour, but as matter of justice something to buy him Plantains, & not for this purpose only, but food for her family, saying that they had nothing of their own, living upon the labours of the wounded man who was a Fisherman, & that as we had depriv'd him of earning his & their livelyhood, we should keep them; We had a long Altercation on this point, but some grave old men nodded in favour of our arguments when we told the woman, that had he been fishing for his family when he attemptd the theft for which he was punishd, she woud not now have want'd our assistance. The man recover'd his spirits instantaneously on our assuring him that he woud not die of this wound.'—Adm 55/116, f. 93v.—In the Tongan context, the idea of 'buying' plantains is rather surprising.

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142 countrys, but at the same time this is frequently the most exceptionable part, for in general their bodys and limbs are well proportion'd and some absolutely the most perfect models of a beautifull figure. Their breasts are commonly very protuberant and that even to a considerable age in some, while others have them quite pendulous & flaccid at a time when their faces would give no room to suspect it; but the most remarkable distinction in these women is the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their hands and fingers which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe.

The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown, but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion and some of the last even a great deal fairer, which is probably an effect of being less expos'd to the sun, as an inclination to corpulence in a few of the principal people seems to be a consequence of a more indolent life.[a] It is amongst the last too that a soft clear skin is most frequently observ'd, for though several such are to be found amongst the bulk of the people it is more common to meet the skin of a dull hue with some degree of roughness, which is either natural or occasion'd by some cutaneous diseases, especially where they are not
● 164 coverd. There are nevertheless upon the whole very few natural defects or deformitys to be found amongst them: they are rather an instance of the equality nature sometimes observes in her productions than a mixture of diminutive and gigantic, puny, decrepit, lame and blind creatures, though not absolutely free from such defects, as we saw two or three with their feet bent inwards and some with a sort of Blindness occasiond by a disease of the Cornéa. Neither are they exempt from some other diseases, the most common of which is the tetter or Ringworm, that seems to affect almost one half of them & leaves whitish serpentine marks every where behind it; but it is of less consequence than another which is very frequent, and appears in large broad ulcers on every part of the body with thickened whitish edges. It discharges a thin clear matter and leaves very ugly irregular scars behind as if ty'd together or lac'd by bits of skin.[1] There is another which appears chiefly about the inner end of the collar bones and sometimes about the wrists and other parts, which is commonly coverd with a yellowish crust,[2] besides common boils and blotches
[177] which are often met with. Inflam'd and sore eyes is a pretty frequent

[a] Besides these we saw a man & boy at Hapaee and a child at Annamooka perfectly white. These have been found amongst all black nations but I apprehend their colour is rather a disea's'd than natural phænomenon.

[1] This is pretty clearly yaws.
[2] This again seems to be the very unpleasant yaws: or it may be some tropical ulcer.

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disorder; but I believe the most destructive is a Europæan one introduc'd amongst them most probably by the ships that visited them in 1773, which has already begun to make fatal ravages amongst them, many having lost their voice and great part of their noses, though it should be observ'd they have a disease amongst themselves that affects the nose, but only destroys the lower part of the sides wheras the other fixes chiefly about the bony part. The injury these people have receiv'd from us by communicating this certain destroyer of mankind is not to be repair'd by any method whatever: for it is not barely depriving them of life at last that forms the greatest part of the misfortune, but it is by rendering them completely miserable while alive from their not knowing how to stop its progress, and depriving them at the same time of that intercourse between the sexes which most probably is a principal ingredient of happiness in a country where custom has laid but little restraint upon it, and religion has not branded it with the name of a crime. The man who has rob'd, murder'd and been guilty of all the Catalogue of human crimes is innocent when compar'd to the one who did such a thing knowingly. An adequate punishment may be found perhaps for a fault, however heinous, that may be comitted upon an individual, but is it in the power of man to invent tortures equal to those felt by a whole nation that the aggressor in this case might be properly repay'd? Humanity itself must startle at the thought of making a single object miserable in this respect, even for a short time, but what must be said when we reflect that in the present circumstance the misery is not only entaild upon thousands who now live but must of necessity be convey'd to endless generations?[1]

There are two other diseases which make themselves to be noticd from their frequency, one of which is an indolent firm swelling or

[1] Anderson's indignation and despair are very comprehensible; but it really seems that they were needless. Yaws and syphilis seem to live together very uncommonly, and never in the same person: and Tonga had plenty of yaws. Anderson has already noticed one stage of it. It would certainly do the damage to the nose he has also noticed. S. M. Lambert's *A Doctor in Paradise* (N.Y., 1941), pp. 30–32, referred to in I, p. 99, n. 4 gives a vivid discussion of the matter. Mariner's editor Dr Martin very much suspected the truth—Mariner, II, p. cvii. Mariner could hear of only one case of either venereal disease in his time in the islands—of a Ha'apai woman who had connexion with a French sailor, 'became on fire (as they expressed it), and died afterwards in a very bad state: and this was all that he learned respecting what might reasonably be supposed to be true syphilis'.—ibid., p. cvi–cvii. Of Tongatapu in 1793, only sixteen years after Cook's visit, Labillardière writes, 'We remarked no symptom of venereal disease among these islanders; nevertheless, one of our sailors caught a gonorrhoea there, but from a woman that had had a connexion with a man belonging to the Espérance, who had been long infected with this disorder. Are these people then so fortunate, that this contagion, after having rapidly run through its different stages, has naturally become extinct among them? For from the testimony of Captain Cook, there can be no doubt that it formerly made great ravages in this country.' —*Account of a Voyage*, II, p. 183. We must believe that Cook and Anderson were mistaken; but it is interesting that the French saw no yaws either on this visit. Cf. pp. clix–clxi above.

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tumour which affects the legs & arms & increases them to an extraordinary size in their whole length: and the other a tumour of the same sort in the testicles which sometimes exceed the size of the two fists,[1] but in other respects they may be consider'd as uncommonly healthy, not a single person having been seen confin'd to the house by sickness of any kind. On the contrary their strength and activity are every way answerable to their muscular appearance, which they exert both in their usual employments and diversions in such a manner that there can be no doubt but they are as yet little debilitated by numerous diseases, the consequences of indolence and an unnatural method of life. The gracefull air and firm step with which these people walk are not the least obvious proof of their personal perfections. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquird that nothing us'd to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees or other things.

Their countenances express very remarkably the abundant mildness & good nature which they posess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They would indeed rather perswade one to believe that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions to acquire an aspect so settled, and such a command of their passions as well as steadiness in conduct, but they are at the same time frank, chearfull and good humour'd, though sometimes in the presence of their chiefs they put on a degree of gravity and such a serious air that becomes stiff or aukward & has an appearance of reserve. Their peacable disposition is sufficiently evinc'd from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas,[2] they have never appear'd in the smallest degree hostile but on the contrary like the most civiliz'd nations have courted an intercourse with them by bartering, the only medium which unites all nations in a sort of friendship. In short they seem posess'd of many of the most excellent qualitys that adorn the human mind as Industry, Ingenuity, Perseverance, affability and perhaps

[1] These two other 'diseases' are one: they are both aspects of the elephantiasis which results from the mosquito-carried filariasis, which is the real disease. The Tongans used surgery to treat the scrotal swelling—Mariner, II, pp. ci–cii; they did nothing about the legs or arms, according to him, but Samwell speaks of 'the Scars of large Gashes . . . seemingly with the Intention of letting out the Contents of the Tumor'.—p. 1045 below.

[2] Mariner's account (II, pp. 71–2) of the contemplated attack on the ships appears to give the lie to this; but he has the later statement, II, p. 138, 'In respect to the intended assassination of Captain Cook, every native of Tonga would have considered it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for which probably the gods would have punished them.'

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Lives & Property: of the latter it may be doubted whether they have any! We were every day well supplyed with Hogs, Breadfruit &c, and as red Feathers were become a valuable article of Trade, on May 23rd Phenow with several large Canoes set sail for some Islands called Vowvow[1] which they told us lay to the Northward at the distance of a Day's Sail, to get a Supply of Feathers.

MONDAY MAY 26th. We got under sail & stood along shore to the Southward keeping a boat a head sounding, at six in the Evening came to an anchor off the Southernmost of the Happai Isles. During our stay here Powlohow, who was said to be the Chief of all the Islands, arrived from Tongataboo, Captn Cook made him many large Presents & treated him with great respect. On leaving these Islands we directed our Course for the Island Anamooka & were accompanied by Powlohow. We had some Gales of Wind & found it a difficult passage between the small Islands in our way, one night the Resolution was very near being lost on the breakers that run off a small sandy Island called Agano,[2] however in the afternoon of June 5th we came to an anchor in our old Birth off Annamooka in Lat 20° 14′ South. The Names of the small Islands we came by in our passage hither are *Matafoa*[3] where there is a Volcano, *Kodoa*, *Agaho*, *Modua* & *Fedoa*.[4] We continued here till the 8th during which time we were supplied with Hogs and Roots by the Natives, & some of the Gentlemen of both Ships went ashore ashooting where they met with good Sport on the Lagoon which is frequented by great Numbers of wild Ducks. Phenow returned from Vowvow with some red feathers, he told us that several of his Canoes had been lost in a Gale of Wind & that all the Men had lost their lives.

SUNDAY MORNING JUNE 8. We weighed Anchor and came to sail with the Wind at NE; after clearing the Island of Annamoka we stood sbw for the Island Tongataboo, called Amsterdam by Tasman who first discovered it. Two Indians took a passage with us in the Ship and Powlohow, Phenow and other Chiefs accompanyed us in their large Canoes. Next day we saw the Island.

JUNE 10th. Both Ships moored in a fine safe Harbour in 10 fm water with fine black sand, Lat. 21° 7′ South; on coming in both Ships struck lightly on a patch of Choral Rock but received no Damage.

[1] Vava'u.

[2] Samwell has got his names confused. 'Agano' here seems to be written over an erased name with a vestigial 'h' in it—possibly 'Agaho' of three lines below, which must be Kao. But the small sandy island was Putuputua.

[3] Tofua. [4] Kotu, Kao, Motu Tapu and Fotuha'a—a rather random selection.

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presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were very well cooked. 648

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again immediately; the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air. Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make preparations for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

609 643 [431] 644 643 264 [262] [271] [576] [516] 644 643 513 [352]

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called & laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respectfully kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet & touching them with her head, however there are always women in waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

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[1] *matapule*, titled ceremonial attendants. [2] *tukituki*.

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drag her away the Man struck him. On this Fataſee immediately desisted & waited upon Captn Cook with his Complaint: the man was called upon the quarter Deck & had nothing to say in his defence but that the Chief had no business with the Girl as he had paid for her. Captn Cook told his people that he would suffer none of them upon any Account whatso[e]ver to strike an Indian except in their own defence, much more a Chief & he the 2d man on the Island. He then ordered the man to be seized up and flogged, on this the good natured Indian forgiving the man for the injury he had just received from him made strong intercession to Captain Cook to spare him, but it was in vain tho' Fataſee pleaded long & earnestly for him, such an outrage was by no means to be looked over and the man received a dozen Lashes & was obliged to deliver up his mistress who was sent ashore; and it must be confessed that in all disputes between our People & the Indians, Captn Cook ever acted with the utmost Impartiality, being as ready to hear the Complaint of an Indian and to see justice done to him when injured, as he was to any of his own Men, which equitable way of proceeding rendered him highly respected & esteemed by all the Indians.

During our stay here we had a constant Intercourse with the Women both on board the Ships and on Shore, & the price was a Shirt or a Hatchet for the Night; they were brought to us & the Bargain made by their Fathers, Brothers or some Friend or Relation. Some of them followed us from Island to Island, many of the Annamooka Girls following us to the Happai Isles and afterwards to Tongataboo. They made shift before they left us of getting most of our Linnen from us, especially from those who were not rich in Hatchets. They are of a very amorous Complexion & highly deserving of what they got.

Before we left these Islands many of our people contracted that most grievous of all Curses the Venereal Disease, which has found its Way to these Islands & which in spite of every Care & Precaution will disseminate itself wherever an European goes. It was supposed by many that this Distemper was left here last Voyage by the Resolution & Discovery, tho' every Method that wisdom could suggest was taken to prevent it. We saw many who had venereal Ulcers upon them in different Parts & one or two who had lost the Nose. We met with many people who were afflicted with enormous Swellings of their Legs & arms, tho' otherwise in perfect Health, brisk & lively, this is taken Notice of by Tasman & called St Thomas's Arm;[1] to prevent the swelling from extending to the fingers, they wear a string tight

[1] It was elephantiasis.

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about the wrist which preserves the use of the Hand & keeps it free from the least Tumefaction. We observed the Scars of large Gashes that had been made lengthwise upon all of them, seemingly with the Intention of letting out the Contents of the Tumor, but without Effecting a Cure as it appeared from the State we saw them in.

The Language of these People is the same as that of Otaheite with some little difference; Omai conversed with them with ease & the two New Zealand Boys were pretty well understood by them.

The following Words present a short Specimen of their Language

A Man	Tangada	The Back	Tooha
Woman	Phapheenee	The Breast	Fadafada
Boy	Tamajee	A Woman's Breast	Hoo-hoo
Chief	Agee	The Belly	Kedee
common person	Tooa	The Navel	Peedo
a Dog	Gooree	Thigh	Denga
a Hog	Booaga	Knee	Doohee
a Cock	Moa	Leg	Foi-va-e
a Bird	Manoo	Ankle	Toongai-va-e
The Forehead	Lahe	Foot	Dooa-va-e
Eyes	Mada	Great toe	Motoo-ava-e
Eyelids	goomada	Hip	Difidolanga
Eye brows	fooroo-fooroo-mada	Chin	Koomoo-coomoo
The Head	Oooloo	Beard	Cava
The Hair	Lo-ooloo	Their Cloth	Ngadoo
The Nose	Ee-hoo	Our Cloth	Papalangee
Teeth	Neefo	Fine Matts	Ngafee ngafee
Nostril	Avaihoo	Coarse Matts	Efala
Cheek	Cowahai	a nail	Fa-o
Lips	Longootoo	a File	Geel-ee
Tongue	Alelo	a Knife	Helee
Gullet	Pougeea	a Hatchet	Togee
Ears	Telinga	a Canoe	Vaga
Neck	Keea	a Bow	Cawfana
Shoulder	Ooma	an Arrow	Ca-ho
Arm	Neema	a Quiver	Gofe
back of the Hand	Tooaneema	a Paddle	Fo-he
Palm of the Hand	Afineema	a fishing net	Coobenga
Forefinger	Toohoo	an wooden dish	Coomedee
Middle finger	Lodo	a Club	Too-ee
Ring finger	Haia		Caw
Little finger	Loohee	Carved	dongee
Thumb	Modooaneema	Plain	dala
Elbow	Tooineema	a fish Hook	Ba

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175 Prince, there was an Entertainment of boxing and wrestling, which they
644 gave us to understand was the Conclusion of the business altogether.
The Purport of this Ceremony seems to me nothing more or less than
651 the Nobles paying their Allegiance to the Heir apparent of the Crown; the Samples offer'd him, I imagine are purposed as Intimations of their future Intentions of supplying him with those Matters, and if we understood them right, after having receiv'd these Acknowledgements and promises of future Services from all the Principals of the Nation, he was renderd consequential enough to set at Table with his Father. Thus having seen the Ceremony through we return'd to the Ships on the Evening of the 9th.

[789] This Ceremony in honour of the young Prince they call Anäche:[1] they tell us there is to be another in two Months, which they say will be a very superb one; in the Course of it, there are to be 10 Men sacrific'd before his young Highness; now whether these are intended as sacrifices to their Gods to implore their Protection and blessings for the young Gentleman or thro' what other principal I cou'd not learn, and whether it may not be altogether fabulous I cannot pretend to say; but it was told me so seriously by many of them that I declare I firmly believe it; no one at all contradicted it when question'd upon the Subject, but spoke as familiarly of it, as tho' it was a matter fully settled and determin'd some time since.

175 These People in their persons surpass in beauty every Nation I ever yet
142 met with, excepting the Natives of the Marquesas which Isles we visited in the course of our last Voyage; that perfect proportion of the Limbs which is universal among them is admirable; there are few that exceed 6 Feet, but then you scarcely ever see an undersiz'd Man, by which means I think they generally run stouter than Europeans: there was not a single deform'd Man seen, and among the many thousands we were at different times associated with, we saw exceeding few Exceptions to that exact Symmetry and proportion in which they seem so peculiarly bless'd.

[146] The Agee's are some of them rather overloaded with flesh, but all the rest were in fine Order, and there were none so poor, but their Countenances bespoke both a plentifull and salutary Diet. The Women are as
175 perfectly form'd as the Men, they are in general handsome but I think
142 somewhat masculine; Chastity is by no means the reigning Virtue of these Isles, the good Lasses readily contributed their Share to our Entertain-
891 ment, and render'd our Bill of Fare compleat, but I am very sorry to have
164 Occasion to observe that at our arrival this time, we found them cursed with Venereal Taints; this of all the Curses that coud befall them is the worst; where connexions between the Sexes are so unlimited as they are here, it is indeed a heavy misfortune.

175 Their Hair is strong, and in general originally black, but they have a
302 method of dressing it with a compound of Lime & some other Materials which changes it to half a dozen different colours, so that you shall see on
[142] the same head, hair of various hues, nay the same hair from its root to its Point will be of 2 or 3 distinct colours. I saw among the young Nobility

[1] *inari.*

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the time that their entertainments were exhibit'd there might be not short 175
of 12,000 people, who built temporary huts or slept under the trees about 161
the tent; at the Ceremony at Moa[1] we suppose not less than 600 chiefs 162
were assembled, but from these bodies I see no good conclusion to be [609]
drawn of the number in either all, or any one of them. From the Nature of [361]
the Country, requiring the labour & industry of the Natives for their [311]
support, it cannot be near so populous in proportion to their size as what [139]
the Society Islands are; the houses here are by no means thickly scatterd [133]
about & many parts in all the Islands are uncultivat'd, owing to the
Sandiness & poverty of the Soil in low Islands, & in the high ones to their
elevatd & expos'd situation; besides the larger low Islands have extensive
lagoons & lakes as at Tonga & Anamooka, which considerably lessens the
surface, leaving therefore their population to be gatherd from the nature of
the Country. We will proceed to their Colour, form, & Natural dispositions.

The Friendly Islanders are of a lively brown Colour & a shade darker 142
than Omai. Although many of their principal women were fairer, their
colour resembles that of the Mallays we saw at the Cape of Good hope;
they are in general above the middle size, many very tall men & but a few
under sizd, they are firmly & compactly made about the joints, broad
shoulderd & Muscular, & perhaps few natives exceed them in that form,
which requires both strenght & agility; this is even to be observ'd in their
walking but abundantly shewn in their athletick exercises & dances: their [302]
hair I believe is universally black or a dark brown when young, but they [765]
have a method of colouring it which deceives one at first; it is not unusual [175]
to see two diff[t] colours on the same head, & perhaps one purple; a sort of
chalky paste which they very often daub upon their heads turns the hair a
yellow sandy colour; they are still more various in their fashion of wearing
it, being cut short on some parts & others left long, yet as they seem to
admire fine long hair, we rather suppose that when it is even partially cut,
& we know it to be the case when all short, that it is in memory of some
deceas'd friend. There are but few who have beards, but shave very 142
dextrously with 2 shells, laying one under the hair & the sharp point of the 302
one above meeting that of the one below, cuts it close off. The Chiefs have 175
glossy smooth skins preservd so by frequent washing; & as fresh water is 565
scarce, they after bathing in salt water throw over them a few coco nut 515
shells of fresh, which takes the salt which otherwise adheres to the skin, & 312
which gives a disagreeable roughness to that of the common people, &
afterwards rub over their bodies Coco nut Oile perfectly sweet & free from
any disagreeable smell. There are nevertheless many cutanious marks 175
from disorders & from voluntary inflictions; more than half of them are 164
affect'd with the tetter or ringworm, which leaves behind a whitish mark; 765
boils & blotches are often met with, & inflam'd sore Eyes are frequent; few
are free from marks on the Cheek bone, which they make by quick re-
peating strokes with the knuckles on the death of their friends or relations,
besides these there are many other disfiguring marks inflict'd on the same

[1] Mu'a.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common, are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw several people with their Arms & legs swelld the whole length to a prodigious size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considerd as uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the men are punctulated or as they call it Tatowd, from the loins to half down the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zeeland. The women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are expressive & countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be sourd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard & tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although custom seems mostly to seperate them on these Occasions. The behaviour of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we coud perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [*sic*] its commonality by observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal indiscriminately whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however in a great measure free from this crime.

Canoe's. There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & 1½ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both ends, & widens from the after end to about ⅓ of its length when it begins gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is deckd over, the middle space is left open for the Padlers. The Canoe consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd together (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd) by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff[t] sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout. The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are binding, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms, as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we endeavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate, that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her displeasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff[t] Islands have different religions.[1]

They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul: they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast[g] place to be on this Globe, shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance, upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up....

TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 1009–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt[n] Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

[1] Different gods, rather.
[2] Orua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu. [3] Hikuleo.

[438 cont.]

175 181 609 439 disposition, which had strongly [439] shone through their whole behavior towards us, and which still manifested itself in their readiness to dispose of them. It is probable that they have some-

175 124 times quarrels amongst themselves, or wage war with the neighbouring islands, but we could by no means discover any thing from their conversation or signs, which might have served to throw a light on

175 439 171 this subject. The several articles above enumerated, together with all their sorts of cloth, their elegant mats, which for workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee, and a great many other trifles too tedious to mention, they brought to sell, and with great eagerness exchanged for small nails, and sometimes for beads. But in respect of the latter their taste was different from that of the Taheitians; for the latter always chose those that were transparent, but the people of Ea-oowhe would take no other than black opaque

175 439 [648] beads, with red, blue, and white stripes. We traded with them till dinner-time, and then re-embarked in order to return on board the ships; but were obliged to sit down contented with the loss of a grapnel, which the natives had contrived to steal almost as soon as it was let down into the water. Their kind looks and acclamations followed us till we returned on board, where a number of them traded in their canoes with the same sorts of goods which we had purchased

175 164 on shore. We saw several persons among them afflicted with leprous complaints, in some of which the disorder had risen to a [440] high degree of virulence; one man in particular had his whole back and shoulders covered with a large cancerous ulcer, which was perfectly livid within, and of a bright yellow all round the edges. A woman was likewise unfortunate enough to have all her face destroyed

[440 cont.]

175 by it in the most shocking manner; there was only a hole left in the
164 place of her nose; her cheeks were swelled up and continually
oozing out a purulent matter; and her eyes seemed ready to fall out
[439] of her head, being bloody and sore. These were some of the most
miserable objects I recollect ever to have seen; and yet they seemed
to be quite unconcerned about their misfortunes, traded as briskly
as any of the rest, and what was most nauseous, had provisions to
sell.

175 After dinner Dr. Sparrman remained on board with me, in order
122 to arrange our acquisitions of the morning, and my father again
[126] accompanied the captains to the shore, with a view to collect a fresh
supply. They returned about sunset, and my father gave the following
account of this excursion.

175 "At the landing-place the natives welcomed us with shouts as in
439 the morning, and the croud being as numerous as ever, the trade was
carried on very briskly, but provisions were scarce, and shaddocks in
particular not at all to be had, as the season was not yet sufficiently
175 advanced. Mr. Hodges, myself, and one servant, left the trading-place with
123 [441] two of the natives, whom we engaged to become our guides in
case of necessity, and walked up the hill to view the interior part
175 of the country. Our walk lay through a number of rich plantations or
311 gardens, enclosed as before mentioned with fences of reeds, or with
417
137 quick-hedges of the beautiful coral flower, (erythrina corallodendron.)
175 Beyond these we entered into a lane between two enclosures, and
311 observed bananas and yams planted in rows on both sides, with as much
487
[244] order and regularity as we employ in our agriculture. This lane
[245] opened into a fine extensive plain, covered with rich grasses. Having

[475 cont.]

175 171 312 only drink of the salutary element, but likewise bathe so frequently in it that no impurity can long adhere to their skin. It is very different with a people who are absolutely denied this blessing, and who must either content themselves with putrid stagnant rain-
175 515 water in a few dirty pools, or go entirely without it. They are obliged to have recourse to expedients in order to preserve a certain degree of cleanliness, which may preclude various distempers.
175 302 171 They therefore cut off their hair, and shave or clip their beards, which doubtless makes them look more unlike the Taheitians than they would otherwise do. Still these precautions are not sufficient,
175 312 especially as they have no fluid for drinking in any quantity. The
175 164 body is therefore very subject to leprous complaints, which are perhaps irritated by the use of the pepper-root water or awa.
175 304 Hence also that burning or blistering on the cheek-bones which we observed to be so general among this tribe, that hardly an individual was free from it, and which can only be used as a remedy
000 against some disorders. The soil of the Society Isles in the plains and vallies is rich, and the rivulets which intersect it, supply
175 171 433 abundance of moisture. All sorts of vegetables therefore thrive with great luxuriance upon it, and require little attendance or cultivation. This [476] profusion is become the source of that great luxury among the chiefs which we do not meet with at Tonga-
175 433 134 312 Tabboo. There the coral rock is covered only with a thin bed of mould, which sparingly affords nourishment to all sorts of trees; and the most useful of all, the bread-fruit tree, thrives imperfectly on the island, as it is destitute of water, except when a genial
000 shower happens to impregnate and fertilize the ground. The labour

[160 cont.]

The English and French navigators have charged each other with the introduction of this detestable disorder among the harmless and hospitable Taheitians; though they have long been acquainted with it, and are not ignorant of the art of curing it (2). Nay, it seems

2. See Hawkesworth, vol. II. p. 233.

that their simple diet, the salubrity of their climate, and a long space of time, have abated the acrimony of the virus, and brought it to that inactive state to which it is now reduced in South America. I am far from supposing, that the venereal complaint has been carried to America from Europe; no, the same causes which could give birth to it in one part of the world, are sufficient to produce it every where else. The commerce of our crews with the women of Tonga Tabboo, and the Marquesas; nay, their remarkable connections with the salacious females of Easter Island, had no sinister consequences. It may be inferred from thence, that the infection has not yet broke out at those islands, though such inferences are sometimes [161] fallacious (3);

3. See vol. I. p. 369.

for captain Wallis left Taheitee without having a single venereal patient, though the distemper is now proved to have existed there before his arrival. It is also beyond a doubt, that the New Zeelanders (4) were afflicted with this disorder before any Europeans had an

4. Ibid. p. 239.

intercourse with them.

We passed the island of Mowrua in the afternoon, and stood to the westward with a favourable trade-wind. On the 6th, at eleven in the morning, we descried an island, which captain Wallis named after lord Howe. It is very low, consisting of coral ledges, which

[181 cont.]

because a fray had happened between the natives and our people. We joined him in a few minutes, and found with him the captain, and a file of marines, together with two natives, who sat on their hams, and from time to time pronounced the word wŏa, which signifies "friend." We supposed that the theft of Mr. Clerke's musket had given occasion to this disturbance; but this was too trifling a circumstance to be resented. The cooper, in mending the water-cask, was not sufficiently attentive to his adze, and one of the natives had snatched it up, and conveyed it away. The captain, in order to recover this valuable instrument, of which however there were no less than a dozen in the ship, ordered his people to seize several large double canoes, which had probably arrived from different adjacent islands. They performed his command, and Mr. Clerke's gun was brought back by the astonished natives. But this was not sufficient, and another canoe was seized. A native, who stood upon it, defended his property, which he had forfeited by no offence, and took up a spear, which he seemed resolved to employ with good effect. Captain Cook levelled his musket at him, and bid him lay [182] down his arms. He refused, and received a load of shot through his wrist and thigh, at the distance of eight or nine yards, which immediately brought him to the ground. The volley was now fired, and a boat sent off to the ship, where three cannon directed against the highest point of the island, were fired off one after another. It was thought that the natives would now have left us; but a great part still remained on the beach conscious of their innocence, and some canoes continued to ply about the ship. The behaviour of one of the natives upon this occasion was so remarkably stoical, that our people could not help taking notice of it. He had a small canoe in which he always met the other canoes before they reached the ship, took out what he liked, and paid their owners, a certain

[sic! --Analyst]

[190 cont.]

101 and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then
175 might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably
well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo
is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent
islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean.
161 We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we
175 suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed
182 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions,
164 keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy
175 prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all
517 their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the
53 South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass
175 away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and
discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one
181 of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is
609 active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite
175 [499] than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have sub-
stituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from
171 those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
175 [191] these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Taheitians,
[181] who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections
[517] to confine them to outward shew and specious appearances. However
there are many luxurious individuals (arreoys) at the Society Islands,
whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people
of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only
have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

122 The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon

77: Whitcombe OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For a list of Tongan words on disease and medicine, see Category 192, pp. 14-19.]

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

The rapidly increasing demand for books emphasised the need for a local press. This, together with many other growing demands of the mission was alleviated by the arrival of reinforcements in 1831. William Woon, the first printer in Tonga, set up his printing press on 4 April. The first book printed in Tonga was published on 14 April 1831. It was a school book containing four pages, and there were 3.000 copies printed (Woon to Committee, 25 April 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2837). Printing attracted great attention and people called from all parts of the island to witness the process. Woon claimed that, through the operations of the press, 'much light had been diffused, and the people were renouncing their superstitions, and turning to God with full purpose of heart' (*W-M Mag.*, March 1833:224).

In his memorable work, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, William Ellis put his finger on one of the very important factors which helped the work of the missionaries in the islands of the South Seas. He wrote:

> It is generally and justly supposed that medical knowledge is one of the most valuable qualifications a missionary can possess; that its skilful and successful application is one of the best means of gaining influence among the people and predisposing them to regard with favour his endeavours to direct their minds to the heavenly Physician, and the means of healing and life to the soul. (Ellis 1844:59)

The contact with the Europeans introduced new diseases to the islands which the Tongans were unable to cure, and which subsequently claimed many lives. However, there were also diseases which had been with the Tongans before European contact, and which they had come to accept as a matter of course, knowing neither their causes nor any way of curing them. One of these diseases the Tongans called *tona* (yaws). Everyone was expected to suffer from it at one time or another, though it was preferable to get it at an early age. Peter Bays (1831:69) gave a graphic description of this disease in 1830 when he wrote:

> In some cases which I saw, the sinews of the legs were drawn up, where the joints were affected; in others, two inches of bone were eaten entirely bare by the flies, hundreds of which were then feeding upon the corrupted flesh, while the *patient*, (a name so very appropriate in the present instance) who, either from superstition, or so callous

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

and accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind, in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.

Afflicted with their traditional ailments, as well as the newly introduced ones, and lacking knowledge of either their causes or cures, the Tongans attributed these misfortunes to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of deceased kin. Accordingly, they believed that there was a direct connection between the efficacy of medicine and the power and truth of the god, whether the medicine was that provided by the missionary or by the heathen priest.

Fortunately for the cause of the mission, the missionaries at Nuku'alofa were more successful in combating disease than John Thomas had been at Hihifo. Nathaniel Turner wrote of their experience in this regard:

> I must just observe in this place that our success in this respect has been the means of bringing many over to our cause from different parts of the Island. When a cure has been wrought, the individual has gone home to his friends, and they all beholding what has been done for him, the whole family, and, in some instances, families have come over to live at Nuku'alofa, and attend to religious instruction. (N. Turner to Committee, 6 May 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2832)

The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work soon became apparent, and consequently dispensary hours had become part of their regular activities.

The missionaries' goods—articles of trade—were highly prized by the Tongan people, and these also helped to turn the interest of the people towards the missionaries and their work. 'If I had good trade', wrote John Thomas, 'it would not only be a saving of time, but tend to produce a good feeling upon the minds of the natives towards us and the good cause' (Thomas, Journal, 2 June 1826). Even John Thomas's dwelling house was something of great wonder to the people. It was the first European house built in Tonga, having two storeys with various apartments, with panel doors in front, and glass windows, and was something which they had never seen before. These things captured their imagination and became the chief topics of conversation not only

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase.

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants.

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000.

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent.

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000.

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people.

Some causes of death in recent years were :—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present.

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand.

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births.

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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> and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us." (14)

177

Only the ships' fireworks display left the Tongans in stupefied amazement; some who witnessed this still recalled their feelings to missionaries half a century later.(13)

Other visits, though less important than Cook's, should be mentioned. Maurelle, a Spaniard, discovered Vava'u on 4 March 1781 and named its spacious anchorage Port Refuge. When Cook was in Ha'apai he had been dissuaded from sailing to Vava'u by the crafty Finau 'Ulukalala who said that Vava'u had a very poor harbour! On 30 May 1793 another Spaniard, Malaspina, arrived at Vava'u; during his stay of eleven days he claimed Vava'u for the king of Spain but this was little more than an empty gesture. Malaspina compiled a [113] Tongan vocabulary.(15)

La Perouse, the gallant but unfortunate French explorer, called at Vava'u and Tongatapu in December 1787 after visiting Samoa.

Bligh's connection with Tonga was the result of the notorious mutiny on the *Bounty*. He had been a lieutenant in Cook's expedition that visited Tonga in 1777. On 28 April 1789, after calling at Nomuka (as others had done because of the fresh water available there), Bligh was put into an open boat with eighteen loyalists. Soon afterwards the dauntless captain landed at Tofua, the volcanic island in the west of the Ha'apai group, to get water and fruit. His quartermaster, John Norton, was killed on shore at Tofua before Bligh set out on his incredible voyage of 3000 miles to Timor. Norton evidently was the first European killed in Tonga.

Edwards, in the *Pandora*, was searching for the *Bounty* and its mutineers in 1791, when he called at Tofua, Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou, and, lastly, Nomuka. The sight of the volcano on Tofua burning at night was regarded as "a very grand spectacle" (17), the surgeon, Hamilton, noted. The crew of the *Pandora* introduced [164] venereal disease into Nomuka when women brought their daughters to the decks in exchange for knives and other presents.(18) Hamilton's summary reflected the opinion that ships' captains had begun to form about the "Friendly Islanders":—

> "The people of Nomuka are the most daring set of robbers in the South Seas and, with the greatest respect and submission to Capt. Cook, I think the name of Friendly Islands is a perfect misnomer." (19)

Labillardiare and D'Entrecasteaux called at Tongatapu in 1793. So high was the esteem felt for La Perouse in France that, even during the Revolutionary Wars in which it was facing the armed might of many European Powers, the French Government sent this expedition to the South Seas to search for the lost explorer. Several Tongans were killed in a quarrel with sailors from these French ships.

The contacts of Tongans with European visitors thus far had not shown uniformly beneficial results. The next contacts were with missionaries of the [797] London Missionary Society who came, not as visitors, but as intending residents and advocates of change.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1841-1850]

made to the sonorous singing of the *Te Deum* at the marriage of Taufa'ahau's daughter, Salote, to the Tu'i Pelehake in 1839. The District Meeting in 1841, influenced by John Waterhouse and his experience of the Book of Common Prayer in English Wesleyan services, decided that John Wesley's Abridgement of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer should be translated and should be used in all the large chapels where missionaries could guide the worship. John Thomas was anything but a high churchman or ritualist but he and the other missionaries loyally accepted the ruling.(29) The Hymn-book of 1849 had 189 hymns, the Morning Prayer service, and also the catechism. In the 1853 edition the Litany and Collects occupied 40 pages and the catechism 72 pages.

Lawry, in his 1850 visit, commented upon the worship in Zion, Nuku'alofa:

> "The serious devotional tone of this host of worshippers would bear a comparison with any congregation I ever saw in England. . . . The beautiful harmony with which they went through the responses in the Morning Service was very affecting, in tones like the sound of many waters. . . . Both the singing and the praying were performed by the entire congregation." (30)

A visiting Anglican physician, Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, made particular reference to the Tongan Wesleyans' use

> "of our noble Liturgy which we always use in the chapel service".(31)

It was this doctor who was so impressed with the need for more support for medical work that he instituted a Protestant Medical Aid Society. At a later date (1878), Sir Arthur Gordon, when High Commissioner, expressed surprise that "the Anglican Prayer Book" had been translated into Tongan and was regularly used by the Wesleyans.(32)

It was Dr. Moulton who retranslated the Liturgy into stately Tongan to replace what the early missionaries had given with their more restricted knowledge of the language. Both versions still stand in the book used by the Free Wesleyan Church although Moulton's is the one commonly used in worship today.

Tongans eagerly adopted European music and forms of worship. They also introduced colourful patterns of their own, such as the watchnight service on new year's eve, when the lights were brought to the church by all families. In the early days these were nut-shells filled with oil.(33) At these services several preachers dwelt solemnly upon the passing of the old year; after about two hours the spirit of gravity was changed to a joyous welcome to the new year.

Another part of the missionaries' work was the introduction of treatment for the people's diseases. Tongans had their own treatment which, generally speaking, they have preferred, even to recent times. They were sometimes impressed, however, by the effect of the medicine brought by the missionaries and they were willing to use it if their own herbs failed. A limitation on the missionaries' efforts was the scanty knowledge they possessed. The situation was exceptional with qualified medical practitioners, R. B. Lyth, most of whose ministry was in Fiji, and George Miller. Shirley Baker, who served from 1860 onwards, had acquired a proficiency in prescribing.

An unusual case of a layman's description of what must have been poliomyelitis is found in a letter from Mrs. Matthew Wilson at Hihifo to her parents in England in November 1847. It was remarkable that one who had no medical knowledge whatever should describe symptoms so accurately. Poliomyelitis had

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never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. The missionary's wife wrote:

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it. We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine, bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (84)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(85) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing.

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (86)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

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in the advice she gave each year regarding the appointments of ministers. This, strictly speaking, was quite an irregular procedure but Page and his successors in the presidential office knew that every minister accepted unquestioningly what he understood had been decided upon her advice. She took a deep interest in the Women's World Day of Prayer. In the last year of her life (1965) she selected Scripture readings and wrote the prayers used by women throughout the world in February 1966.

The Queen was honoured by Britain on several occasions. She was the first D.B.E. in the Pacific (1932), Dame Grand Cross (G.B.E.) in 1945, G.C.V.O. in 1953, and, just before her death, G.C.M.G., the only woman in the world with this last-mentioned distinction.

In January 1965 she visited Auckland for medical treatment. An exploratory operation revealed the secondary growth of cancer. She returned to Tonga in May, and for the remaining months was under drugs and often in considerable pain.

When the ashes of her old friend, Rodger Page, were brought from Sydney, she was driven slowly around the cemetery. Especially as she was then in the last stages of her illness, this action impressed the great crowd at the cemetery as a signal mark of respect. She also directed that the word for "burial" on Page's stone should be *telio*, the word reserved for royalty, an unprecedented evidence of esteem.

On 31 October, four days before returning to a hospital in Auckland, the Queen received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from her chaplain, the Rev. George Harris, and other ministers. She then gave a testimony, indicating her resignation to whatever might happen to her, adding that she had professed her faith in Christ when she was young and had adhered to it ever since, so that no hurried final spiritual preparations were needed. Treatment in Auckland proved of no avail. She passed away on 16 December.

The funeral took place on 23 December at Nuku'alofa before an assemblage estimated at 50,000. The king and queen with the royal family, the Governor-General of New Zealand, the Governor of Fiji, the Head of State in Western Samoa, and many other visiting leaders followed the bier on foot. In the still air the singing of the hymns the late Queen had chosen was deeply moving. Mourned with profound sincerity, she is still, years after her death, called by her people "Our Beloved Queen".

King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV was crowned on his 50th birthday, 4 July 1967, by his chaplain, George Harris, supported by Cecil Gribble, then President-General, who visited Tonga for the occasion. The king's brother, John Tu'ipelehake, succeeded the king as Premier. Both the king and his brother are local preachers in the Church and staunch supporters of all moral and religious movements in Tonga.

The ministers upon whom the integrity and development of the Church depend have included some of conspicuous devotion. Such a stalwart was Paul Fukofuka, one of those who refused many times to forsake the Wesleyan ministry for a higher stipend in the Free Church; he died in 1918, a veteran who had been born in pre-Christian days and who remembered John Thomas. Another, of similar fidelity and ability, was John Taufa, an inspiring preacher, who died in 1941. John Havea was senior tutor at Tupou College, 1902-9 and 1912-42. He

459 434 because of the international oil crisis. These cancellations resulted in a large loss of expected revenues.

179 744 457 [164] Not only must the industrial sector of the economy be expanded and diversified beyond tourist development, but public health problems in Tonga and other islands must be dealt with. For example, in the past Fiji and Tonga have experienced outbreaks of mosquito-carried Dengue fever. The fever not only incapacitates and demoralizes the native population, it frightens away tourists as well.

179 Tongans must develop a balanced design of tourist development, overseas work schemes, combined with the development and improvement of local living conditions, before the economy can be stabilized. The government is currently working on its Third Development Plan for 1975-1980, and new industries, such as local fish-canning and meat-processing plants, have been suggested.[17A] 179 648 Planned overseas aid from New Zealand in the amount of $NZ5,000,000 over the next three years will be used to encourage and develop rural programs throughout the Kingdom.[18A] Such overseas support of the non-tourist sectors of the economy, combined with assistance from the United Nations Development Program for the tourist sector, could provide Tongans with balanced development.

The future of Tongans lies in greater cooperation with one another. In February of 1975, Tonga [439] [435] joined the European Economic Community as an associate member to obtain eventual stabilization of prices of Tongan items exported to Europe and possible financial aid from Europe. In 1974, Tonga and Fiji joined in a tourist promotion scheme, and more such Fijian-Tongan cooperative efforts are being planned. Late in 1976 the Pacific Islands Tourism Development Council Conference was held in Tonga. The theme of the conference revolved around cooperation in tourism efforts, and representatives were in attendance from American Samoa, Australia, the Cook Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Japan, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, North America, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, and Western Samoa! Clearly, then, ideas about cooperative efforts are increasing. In August of 1976 Tonga was also represented at the Young Nations Conference held in Australia. The theme of that meeting stressed research and development in planning for the people of the South Pacific. For an integrated design for the future, all peoples should utilize as many resources as possible.[19C]

315 648 Oil may prove another source of foreign exchange for Tonga. In November of 1968, a visiting Australian geologist confirmed natural oil seepage on Tongatapu Island, and exploratory drilling was conducted by a European-based consortium in 1970 and

[p. 92-A]

A,B,C [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961
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occasion of the presentation of shields for the best village and district. Local shows are also held. 575 462 543

This sense of responsibility for village improvement links the function of the *Langa Fonua* with that of the Women's Health Committees in the villages, voluntary bodies whose object is to improve the standard type of Tongan dwelling house by building sanitary bath houses, cooking and eating shelters and if possible tanks for water storage. Inspections are carried out regularly to enforce rules of cleanliness and to encourage vegetable and flower gardens. 575 462 624 744 [241]

Members of the Health Committee help with treatment of mothers and children for minor or skin ailments and give advice on infant and child care, including feeding. The Health Committee works in close touch with the visiting Child Welfare Nurse; scabies has been reduced almost to vanishing point. [757] [164]

Extensive Child Welfare Services

Child welfare has an important place in the Government programme. A beautifully equipped and expensive new mobile Child Care Clinic with its enthusiastic staff of one New Zealand Plunket-trained general and maternity nurse with one or two Tongan student nurses visits every village in Tongatapu every fortnight for preventive care including weighing, dieting and treatment of minor ailments as well as antenatal cases. All pre-school children are thus under regular observation. 744 743 855

The driver is an integral part of the team, taking his share in dealing out both liquid foods and advice or acting as interpreter.

Out of 111 babies examined in one day recently only two had signs of scabies. Yaws seems to have vanished. 744 743 855

A main concern is to persuade Tongan mothers to keep up breast feeding and to teach them how to prepare supplementary foods for the weaning process; it is conjectured that the decrease in the mother's diet of healthy native foods in favour of inferior imported food, such as white bread, has weakened lactation. [647] [853] [262] [178]

For the outlying islands there are occasional visits by the Child Welfare Nurse as well as the services of the A.M.O.; Ha'apai and Vava'u each has a Tongan-trained nurse who reports to the Child Welfare Nurse.

Church The Pivot Of Village Life

The Church has done incalculable service in Tonga and still remains the pivot of village life. 771

With the inspiring leadership of the Queen, the Royal Family and the Chiefly administrators with their fine standards of propriety and dignity, the Kingdom of Tonga pursues its life of dedication to the welfare of its people, to the true husbandry of its land, and to the character training of its rising generation. 181

In this gay, trustworthy, generous and hospitable community one finds that harmony and gracious living so lacking in a world grown weary through selfishness, greedy ambition and disillusionment.

[P. 28-D]

/37 cont./

144 563 birthrate--are no longer included. One can imagine that the dissemination of "European blood portions" among this people, that 30 years ago had a population of only 25,000, could be considerable. The actual extent of this European influence, however, can probably never be clearly determined, since one may not suspect every Tongan child born blond of having a portion of European blood, and since Cook found hundreds of "truly European faces" (see above) which undoubtedly resembled the ancient Tongan people. The noticeable admixture of Melanesian blood may in part be very old, in part traceable to the active intercourse between Fiji and Tonga up to the present time.

142 164 [177] [932] Other European influences, such as diseases or alcohol, have not visibly influenced the physical appearance of the Tongan. The observation of Ellis in 1777: "we did not see one instance of deformity amongst them," /cited in English/ (78)

78. W. Ellis, loc. cit., p. 91.

holds good even today, for it may be said that one scarcely meets a cripple in Tonga, and the natives with their sturdy build and their good posture give an altogether healthy impression--such as one does not find in the streets of a European metropolis; even the old Polynesian affliction of elephantiasis does not appear to the extent that it does in Tahiti, for example.

142 144 177 [563] /38/ According to today's findings, therefore, neither the character nor the physical appearance of the Tongan seems to have undergone a profound change in the course of the centuries of European influence. Certain changes brought about by admixtures of European blood, for example, --insofar as they are recognizable--have usually been advantageous, since in such cases the Tongan apathy was repressed and these more lively, versatile and enterprising natives generally got along better in "modern" Tonga.

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563 144 For in this small island kingdom the non-fullblooded native exists by no means "between two worlds" because the number of whites is small and because he is adopted without opposition by the even-tempered Tongan community which, at most, will regard him as not bound to specific, more strict Tongan customs of old.

Diseases

164 The Tongan's resistance to various diseases is good, (79)

79. For example, these islanders seem less susceptible to typhoid than Europeans, and a white physician reported that among 120 cases of pneumonia he had only two deaths, whereas in the European area he regarded 20% as the rule.

but it is very slight with regard to many diseases, especially the imported ones. (80)

80. For example, colds, influenza, tuberculosis, eye diseases.

The chief diseases in Tonga are pulmonary tuberculosis, pneumonia, conjunctivitis, trachoma, filariasis, frambesia, typhoid. Probably very many Tongans suffer from pulmonary tuberculosis. Systematic examinations, especially on the main island, are shortly expected to produce greater clarity. Occasional influenza epidemics can become very serious, with a large number of deaths. (81)

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[161] [113] 81. For example, the slowly increasing population of Tonga that numbered 24,245 in 1917 dropped to 22,689 in 1919 (according to E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society" /cited in English/, B.P.B.M. Bulletin 61. Honolulu 1929. p. 6) as a result of the influenza epidemic of 1918; for the approximately 10,000 influenza cases of 1950, however, only three deaths were reported (Report of the Medical Department for the Year 1950. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 8).

/38 cont./

164 Leprosy occurs only to a slight extent. (82)

82. In 1950, for example, nine cases were sent to the leprosy station in Makogai/Fiji (Report of the Medical Department...loc. cit. p. 8).

164 175 Since we have no intensive and complete observations from the past it is very difficult to give more details about the change that has taken place in diseases among the Tongans. In the old sources (83)

83. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc, cit. VI, p. 275; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage.../cited in English/ loc. cit. p. 264; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux loc, cit I. p. 320; Voyage pittoresque autour du monde /Picturesque voyage around the world/. Published by Dumont d'Urville. vol. II. Paris 1835. p. 75; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative.../cited in English/. loc. cit. III. p. 33/34.

we do find skin deseases (probably especially frambesia), eye diseases, colds, consumption and elephantiasis mentioned as diseases that came to the attention of the early observers. Typical 164 European influences are probably the major /39/ influenza epidemics. 177 The frequent occurrence of pneumonia is partly to be traced back to imported clothing, since the Tongans in all villages now also clothe the upper part of their bodies (shirts, blouses, dresses), and after rainfalls they usually do not change their wet things but let them dry on their bodies. Though pulmonary tuberculosis seems to be an old indigenous disease in Tonga, the low resistance and the apparently increasing number of diseases of the natives can very probably be regarded as a result of the change in their way of life (clothing, partly also food and dwelling) brought about by European [262] contact. One result of European influence, specifically the somewhat changed diet, (84)

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84. See the chapter "Food" p. 275 ff.; the present very high prices for copra (chief export product) make it possible for every native to buy wheat flour, sugar (both often by the sackful), canned meat, fish and fat, and other food imported from Europe.

could be the frequently observable dental defects of young Tongan men and women, (85)

[752]

85. According to circumstances, defective, aching teeth are not filled but extracted, at any rate on the small islands.

as well as the striking occurrence of partial baldness among middle-aged and older males. (86)

86. This is not yet mentioned in the old sources.

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[161]

It seems noteworthy that venereal diseases are not widespread in Tonga.

Summarizing, one may say that in this Archipelago the increase (or intensification) of diseases caused by European influence have had no devastating effect on the population which, in the last 30 years, has doubled and in the preceding decades (with the exception of the influenza epidemic of 1918) remained on approximately the same level.

Health Care

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There is an organized system of health care today in Tonga, the beginnings of which go back to the missions, while now it is exclusively run by the government. All natives have a right to free medical and dental (tooth extraction and filling) treatment financed by the Tongan

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state. This treatment is at present carried out in the entire Archipelago by a white physician known as "chief medical officer" /cited in English/, by a second (pensioned) white physician who as "medical officer" /cited in English/ has an advisory function, by approximately 20 Tongan assistant physicians ("medical practitioners" /cited in English/) and assistant dentists ("dental practitioners" /cited in English/), by

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744 657 759 743 177

instruments which are nontheless still used. The dispenser working there often forgets his stethoscope when he makes house calls (he keeps it hanging in the open window in the rain); he often makes a diagnosis without touching the patients, and as medicine he dispenses mainly two kinds of tablets; the quarterly health inspection entrusted to him (dwellings, water supply, latrines) on the four islands in his charge he fails to carry out even annually, and then only very superficially.

744 657 563 177 [752] The few whites working in Tonga can naturally not take the drastic action they would in a colony, though they make a successful effort to keep "the machinery running." There are, however, several examples of surgical operations quite skilfully carried out by Tongan physicians, and in general this European system of health service has undoubtedly brought about many an improvement for the natives.

744 164 177 514 One achievement of the modern health service is the repression of the hookworm disease which formerly occurred rather frequently. It was combatted by the Tongan government with aid from a Rockefeller grant; around 1930, cement latrines were widely introduced. Today most Tongan families (88)

88. The author's count in 'Uiha/'Uiha and Fungamisis/Vava'u in 1952 showed, for example, that of 100 households (45 respectively) 83 (40 respectively) have cement latrines.

have such latrines which they /41/ can buy at a very low price from the government and "finish" as they wish.

744 164 [758] The fight against tuberculosis, however, is still very much in its beginnings. It is altogether unclear how many natives are afflicted with this disease; the simple mass examinations in the schools have not been able to give a reliable picture. The wherewithal is apparently lacking for combating it on a large scale. On the smaller islands of the

/41 cont./

744 164 758 group the severe cases are usually isolated; huts are built for them outside the village on the beach, relatives drop food there, and after a few years these tubercular patients die.

744 312 Though the systematic teaching of hygiene in all schools has even been able to intensify the ancient Polynesian feeling for cleanliness, it has not yet gone so far as to teach the natives to be more careful about how they obtain their drinking water. With the 312 exception of 'Eua, the entire Archipelago has no running water; the wells dug by the Tongans often contain brackish water, and people are generally dependent on the rain water they collect. Today this mostly runs into self-built cement tanks (also into old drums and tin containers) from the corrugated iron roofs; (89)

89. Occasionally one also sees palm branches nailed perpendicularly to the coconut trunks, with a collecting vessel placed underneath.

the larger cement tanks of the government found in all villages are often a valuable asset in times of drought. However, since most of the tanks never become completely empty (90)

90. A puddle almost always remains even in periods of drought; in one auxiliary hospital the author was informed that the tank there "has never been quite empty since 1914."

and are usually inadequately covered or entirely open, (91)

91. Numerous mosquito larvae as a rule cling to the surface of the water.

the drinking water, which is almost always drunk unboiled, is never altogether clean. On Nomuka people even use the unboiled, muddy brown water of a small pond in which pigs wallow, for making the [164] kawa drink. The number of illnesses resulting from these conditions seems, however, to be astonishingly small.

/133 cont./

342 floor is no longer raised by about /134/ one foot. In such houses
178 greater dampness easily arises, which can cause the inhabitants
[164] rheumatism, among other things. The house built in the ancient Tongan style--with the slight elevation of the floor--is said by physicians to be the type best adapted to that climate. The former customary partitioning of the room by moveable, plaited mats of reed in a semicircle have today been replaced by curtains of tapa or of cotton (more seldom by board walls) [hanging from] two opposite posts, partitioning off one of the round ends of the house (in some cases, both
[177] round ends) as the sleeping quarters. The European-like constructions of the "box type" and "veranda type" (of timber and corrugated sheet metal) are usually raised one-half to one meter above the ground on posts and have a wooden floor which is, naturally, dry and, by its elevation, provides a certain protection against ants, beetles, etc.
[435] This advantage must, however, be dearly paid for in the high cost of such a house and the often high temperature and bad air inside. Interior walls with doors subdivide the larger of these houses, whereas in the smaller ones the sleep area is closed off with a curtain of tapa or cotton.

344 The ancient Tongan meeting houses and guest houses of chiefs
178 have disappeared. Of larger houses in the villages we find today
346 above all the churches which are built on the ancient Tongan ground
177 plan or as European-like buildings. The schools and kautaha houses.
178 (361)

361. See pp. 134-135, 137-140.

are mostly built of timber and corrugated metal in rectangular shape and usually do not exceed in size the larger European-type dwellings.
343 The ancient Tongan storehouses have also passed into oblivion. Today,
178 many families no longer own a storehouse; for the rest, simple huts

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Many, though not all, of these imports are of little nutritive value and may be actually detrimental to the health of the people. In Tonga, for example, a recent French survey of the capital city revealed a dramatic increase in the consumption of high energy foods, such as sugar, alcohol, and highly processed foods. As a result, the French study concluded, there was a rapid rise in the incidence of dental caries within the Tongan population, accompanied by a general decrease in the overall nutritional status, especially among preschool children (Hansell 1962).

This is not to imply that all food imports are of little nutritive value or that Tonga should strive to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. However, it is clear that some form of control, governing the quantity and quality of certain foods, should be considered. Such action should be aimed at improving the quality of imports, including flour, meats, and grains. Consideration of the nutritional status of urban populations is advisable in view of the rapid expansion of this population segment and the increasing utilization of imported foodstuffs.

The economic shift of the populace is another major cause of urbanization. This shift has been most notable in the agricultural sector of Tonga's national economic structure. The effects upon agriculture are felt in two significant areas. As alternatives to agriculture are found in cash employment in urban areas, the cash income of the people involved increases and imported foods, often seen as status symbols, are sought as such. Therefore, the per capita urban demand for indigenous foodstuffs tends to decline,

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a sense of insecurity" (Tupouniua 1957, p. 18). During this phase, internal armed conflict often resulted in large scale loss of life, destruction of crops, and subsequent famine conditions. It is estimated that at least one-fourth of the Tongan population perished during the first half of this period, victims of either war or famine (Wood 1932, p. 33). In addition, diseases contracted from Europeans, whose contacts with the islands were increasing in frequency, produced several severe epidemics. In combination, the war and disease resulted in a large and widespread reduction of population.

Phase three represents a period of "adjustment and recovery," dating from 1852 to the end of the century. Recovery, in terms of population numbers, did not immediately occur. Secondary effects of the civil war period lasted until approximately 1890 to 1895, or until large numbers of individuals born after 1852 entered the reproductive ages.

Following the 1890s, the population evidenced a numerical recovery, though periodic outbreaks of disease resulted in an irregular pattern of increase. For example, an epidemic of measles in 1893 reportedly killed a "twentieth of the population," while an influenza epidemic in 1918 claimed as much as a tenth of the population, on some islands (McArthur 1968, p. 96). Nonetheless, the number of individuals increased from approximately 20,000 in 1891, to 24,000 in 1918. Following the 1918 epidemic, the Tongan population exhibited a period of accelerating growth. Between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1 percent. This rate

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262 146 and are often excluded from the diet.[1] On the other hand, imported foods are perceived as being prestigious items. Some imports have limited nutritional value, although often below that of domestic products, while others such as refined flour, cereal products and sugar may cause or aggravate conditions of ill health, sugar being an obvious offender. Hansell (1962, p. 288) listed increased sugar consumption as being the principal cause of the rapid rise in the incidence of dental caries in Tonga. Personal observations verified this situation, with a marked predominance of cases noted in Nuku'alofa.

125 During the data collection process, a 24-hour dietary recall was conducted for each preschool subject, to determine any obvious dietary variations between rural and urban children. In addition, a frequency of consumption record was taken for the entire family, listing the frequency during an average week with which selected foodstuffs were consumed (i.e., fresh or canned meats and milk, tubers, cereal products, soft drinks, alcoholic products and sugar). In collecting this data care was taken to avoid the inclusion of weekend food consumption, especially that of Sunday. Because Sunday is a traditional day of feasting and heavy eating, a 24-hour dietary recall of this day would give a skewed and unrealistic picture of the preschooler's food consumption pattern.

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[1] The best example of this is the leaf of the taro plant. The leaf is used in the preparation of many dishes called "Lū" (i.e., lū pulu or beef, lū ika or fish) in which the meat is, in combination with coconut cream, etc., wrapped in taro leaves and cooked. However, the prepared dish is usually eaten without the leaf wrapping. In addition, raw vegetables, such as cabbage or greens, are not eaten.

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rural Tongatapu. These people, displaced by overpopulation, the lack of land or through the development of cash cropping, represent a critical potential risk for the development of classical malnutrition.[1] A situation cited as being conducive to the development of malnutrition involves a child with diarrhea (as is common in weaning infants) being fed only warm sugar water, a folk medicine remedy. This treatment tends to aggravate the initial condition and the cycle develops and intensifies (Tu'itavaka 1974). Subsequent manifestations of malnutrition are a lessening of the child's activity level, an increase of irritability and a retardation in the physical growth and development of the child.

During the investigation designed to determine the physical conditions of Tongan preschool children, height, weight, arm circumference and skinfold measures were recorded, as anthropometric indicators of a child's growth and development. Data from each indicator was grouped as to rural or urban and compared to suggested standards (The Health Aspects of Food and Nutrition 1972, pp. 278-283). Percents of variation from standards were then taken and

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[1] The development of the symptoms of malnutrition (i.e., retarded growth and development in preschool subjects) was not strongly correlated to densely populated rural areas such as rural Ha'apai and western Tongatapu. Interview responses indicated no cases of malnutrition in these areas, which may be attributed to the greater availability of protein. The Nuku'alofa environs produced the greatest number of cases of malnutrition with Neiafu containing the second largest number. Only one case of malnutrition from the outer Islands was reported. The staff of Vaiola hospital on Tongatapu believe malnutrition in Tonga is strongly linked to continued urbanization. (Interview with S. U. Tu'itavaka, Vaiola Hospital, Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, September 24, 1974.)

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146 With the onset of protein deprivation or a malnourished period which may lead to protein malnutrition, the earliest consistent change notable is a reduction in maximum bulb diameter (Bradfield 1972, p. 722). Hair root bulb diameter measures from both rural and urban samples fell below suggested standards. However, the average for rural samples amounted to 9.65 mm x 10^{-2}, while urban samples averaged 8.25 mm x 10^{-2}. Though both are below the suggested standard of 11 mm x 10^{-2} (Table 26), the more pronounced deviation is seen in the urban sample. This also lends support to the contention that the urban preschooler is nutritionally less sound than his rural counterpart.

In conclusion, two additional factors of Tongan society must be emphasized. Cases of classical malnutrition, particularly severe protein malnutrition, were not found to be currently prevalent 146 throughout the islands. Occasionally, children were observed exhib- 164 iting illness which could be directly correlated with the lack of sufficient food or adequate nutrition. Infections and eye disorders 146 were relatively common. A more significant factor is the potential risk for the future development of malnutrition, especially in urban areas, where the diet was found frequently to be deficient in 146 both quantity and quality. Indicative of this condition is the 145 urban preschool child who is smaller and less developed than his 146 rural counterpart, by every parameter examined. These data support the conclusion that the occurrence of moderate and severe protein-calorie malnutrition in Tonga is greatest among urban children.

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APPENDIX C

DATA COLLECTION CRITERIA

125

Physical Examination

In conjunction with the population survey a brief physical examination of each preschool child residing in the sample households was conducted. The following indicators of nutritional and general well being were noted:

125 1. Skin changes. Careful observation was especially given
146 for flake-paint dermatosis, which may characterize severe protein malnutrition. However, only one such case was noted and that child was a weaning infant and too young for inclusion in the survey
125 sample. Skin areas with open wounds resembling burns or infection
146 were examined also. Though the incidence of infection was quite
164 common within the urban sample, it was impossible to directly attribute any to nutritional disorders alone, and probably reflect the effects of the total urban environment.

125 2. Edema. Each child's feet, ankles, hands and wrists
146 were examined for this characteristic of severe protein malnutrition. Several cases of this, in generalized form, were observed in the urban sample, although absent in rural areas. Several infants, not included in the sample, were also noted as having this condition.

3. Eyes. Vitamin A deficiency symptoms were noted to be common throughout Tonga. Parents frequently indicated that their

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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General Remarks.

Kava.—The use of the kava, from its intoxicating property when taken in any quantity, is discountenanced by the missionaries, but the custom seems to prevail nearly as much now as when Cook visited the islands. It is the first thing prepared by a chief when visited by his friends, and to neglect this would be considered a want of courtesy amounting to insult, which would be highly resented. At kava parties the ring is kept clear, no one who is not employed in some duty connected with the ceremony being allowed within it, and to walk across it would be considered as an insult to the whole assembly. The kava is carried by inferior chiefs to those of higher rank, and the king would take it to the Tamahá or Tui Tonga Tagata. When they have drank the kava they throw away the small cup in which it is served, and at neither of the two great kava meetings we saw was the same cup used twice. It is considered best when chewed by young women. In my strolls round the island I saw several plantations of it; the young shoots had just spread into leaf and were hoed, the ground between them being carefully cleared of weeds.

Human Sacrifices.—The last human sacrifice was offered at Mua about eight years ago, on the occasion of the death of Fátu, the chief of the place, to propitiate the god who they thought had punished them by thus depriving them of their chief. It was a boy, about eleven years of age, who was strangled with a piece of tappa passed round his neck, and then drawn tightly by two men, one of whom was his own father!

Finger Sacrifices.—Many of the natives have lost their little fingers. These were formerly cut off by the parents of the children as offerings to the gods, to obtain success in war, or to propitiate them in cases of sickness.

Disease in Children.—The children when first born, and for some time after, are very healthy, but invariably about a certain age break out into sores which spread all over the body. I have observed the same thing at Cape York, and some of the islands of Torres Straits, where the natives call it Badálli, and attribute it to the influence of the Mydállaga, or men who deal in charms, or to the ill wish of some secret enemy.

The Tabu.—Whatever might have been the mysterious nature and origin of the tabu, it simply means now something forbidden. A tent being set up near the beach for the purpose of affording shelter to the men who were sent ashore to burn lime, and to contain their clothes, provisions, and cooking utensils, the natural curiosity of the natives made them rather troublesome, which being observed by an old chief, he called them all out and placed the